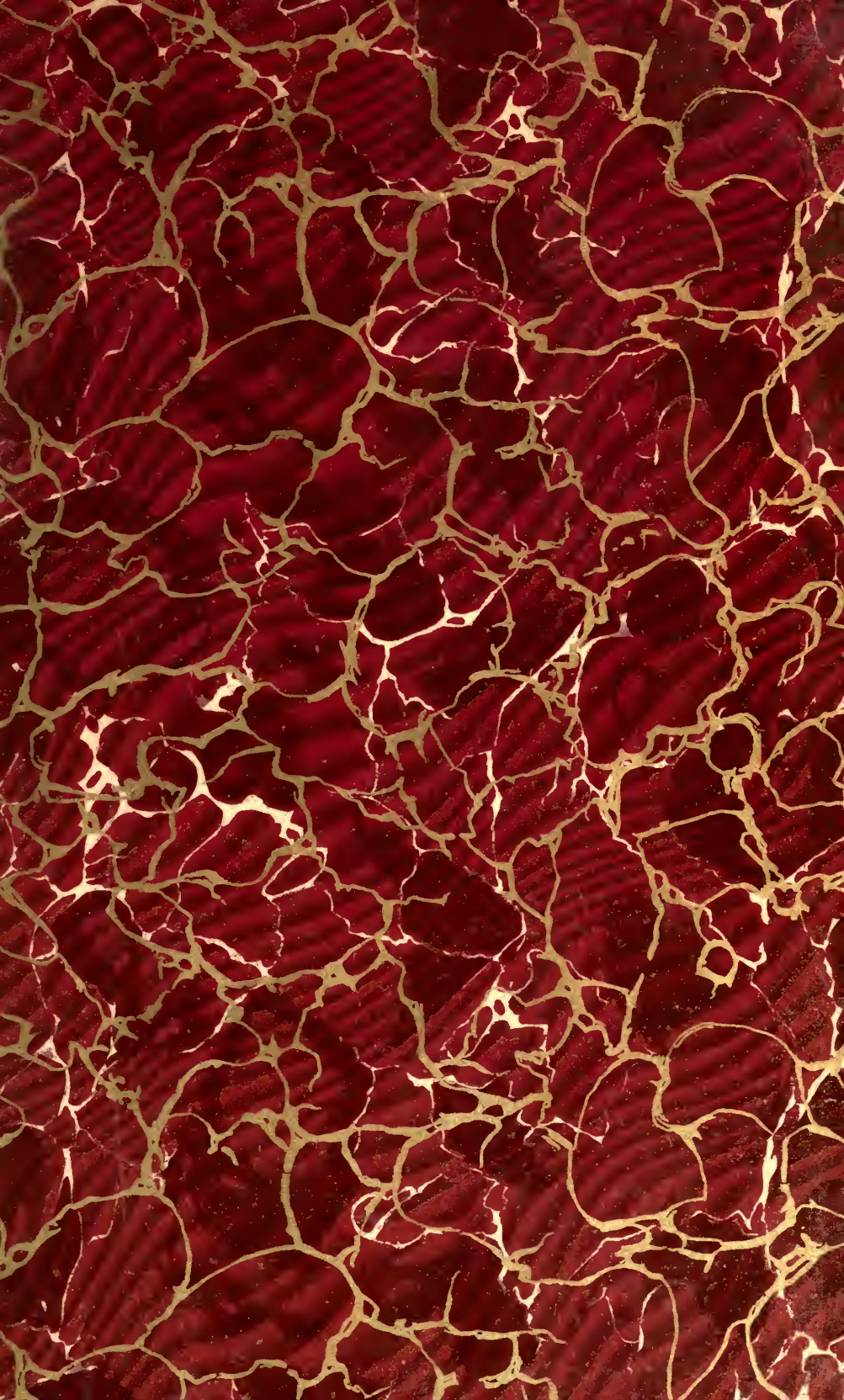

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WORLD'S FAMOUS FOREIGN STATESMEN

MOSES

DATE UNKNOWN

THE FOUNDING OF THE HEBREW NATION

We have two sources from which to draw material for the life of Moses. We have, first, the Biblical account of the exodus of the Israelites out of Egypt and their sojourn in the Wilderness, and, second, the narrative of the same events given by Josephus. The chief authority of Josephus was the Bible itself, and, accordingly, his narrative agrees in the main with that given in the Pentateuch. In his account of the early life of Moses, however, Josephus followed an extra-scriptural tradition, but apparently an old one, since it seems to throw light on an otherwise obscure passage in the Book of Numbers. The story given by Josephus of the youth of Moses, briefly told, is this:

Pharaoh had been warned by one of the sacred scribes of Egypt that a child was about to be born to the Hebrews, who, if reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and he therefore issued orders to the midwives to put to death every Hebrew male child, as is related in the first chapter of Exodus. The story of the birth of Moses and his preservation in an ark committed to the waters of the Nile is, in the main, the same as that given in the Bible. Now Moses' understanding, Josephus goes on to say, was above his age, and his height when he was but three years old was wonderful, and as for his beauty, there was no one but did greatly marvel at it. So Thermuthis—this was

the name of Pharaoh's daughter—adopted him for her son. And on one occasion she took Moses to see her father and showed him to him, and said she thought to make the boy her heir and his successor. Then she put him into her father's hands. And Pharaoh took the child and hugged him, and, to please his daughter, placed his diadem upon his head. But Moses threw it down to the ground and trod upon it with his feet. And the priests who witnessed the act were horrified, and they said: "Surely this is the Hebrew child of whom we have been forewarned," and they counseled Pharaoh to slay him. But Thermuthis snatched the child away, and the King was loth to do him harm, for God himself protected Moses and inclined the King to spare his life.

Now, when Moses had come to maturity it so happened that the Ethiopians made an inroad into Egypt, and plundered and carried off the goods of the Egyptians, who, in their rage, marched against them; but being overcome in a great battle, some of them were slain and the rest ran away in a shameful manner. And the Ethiopians followed after them in hot pursuit, and ravaged the country far and wide, and proceeded as far as Memphis and the sea, not one of the cities being able to hold out against them. In this extremity the Egyptians had recourse to their oracles; and when God had counseled them to call upon the Hebrew for aid, the King commanded his daughter to produce Moses, that he might be their General.

So Moses, at the entreaty of Thermuthis, undertook the business. He assumed the command of the Egyptian army, and having come upon the enemy unawares, he defeated them in a great battle, nor did he slacken his vigor until he had driven them out of Egypt, and had forced them to retire into Saba, the royal city of Ethiopia. This city was well-nigh impregnable, being surrounded by the

Nile and two other rivers, and being besides encompassed by a strong wall. And while Moses was besieging the city and was unable to take it, Tharbis, the daughter of the King of the Ethiopians, chanced to see him as he approached near the wall, and she fell deeply in love with him. She sent to him a faithful servant to propose marriage, and he accepted the offer on condition that she would procure the surrender of the city. The condition was agreed to, the city was delivered up, and Moses kept his word and married Tharbis.

The legend here abridged from that given by Josephus would be of little interest did it not seem to throw light on the passage in Numbers xii:1, "And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman he had married; for he had married an Ethiopian woman."

Moses was now obliged to flee from Egypt. According to the Scriptural account he had slain an Egyptian, whom he had come upon maltreating a Hebrew, one of his brethren. Josephus says that the cause of his flight was his discovery that the Egyptians, envious of the great reputation he had gained in the Ethiopian War, and fearing that he would stir up a revolution in Egypt, were plotting against his life. But, whatever the cause, Moses fled beyond the Red Sea into the desert, to the city of Midian. Here he found favor with Raguel, the high priest of Midian—known also as Jethro—who gave Moses one of his seven daughters, Zipporah, in marriage. (Ex. ii:16-21.)

It was while Moses was tending the flocks of his father-in-law at the foot of Mount Sinai that the Lord appeared to him in a burning bush (Ex. iii:2), and commissioned him to be the deliverer of his brethren out of their bondage to Egypt. At the same time, to mark the

beginning of a new era in the religious life of the Israelites, a new name by which henceforward they should know the God of their forefathers was revealed to Moses—a name which eventually came to be regarded as too sacred for utterance.* And when Moses hesitated to undertake so difficult a task, the Lord associated with him his brother Aaron, who could speak well, and who might serve as his spokesman before the people. Moreover, Moses was given the power of working miracles with his rod, to prove before the people his divine commission.

We may pass over the story of Moses' return to Egypt, his revealing himself to the elders of the Hebrews, his long contest with Pharaoh—not the same Pharaoh from whom he had fled, but his successor—to obtain from him permission for the Hebrews to go a three-days' journey into the wilderness to hold a feast to their God, his final success, after the Lord had grievously afflicted Egypt with divers plagues, because of the obstinacy of her King, and we will take up the story after the miraculous passage of the Red Sea. One thing, however, should be previously noted—the institution of the Passover.

The history of the Jewish Passover is a complicated one. It has been the subject of much controversy among the Jews themselves. It is held to commemorate an occurrence which took place on the eve of the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt, and which is related in the twelfth chapter of Exodus. The Lord had declared to Moses, when Pharaoh had remained stubborn under all of the many evils that had been brought upon his country, that he would inflict upon Egypt yet one other calamity, and

NOTE.—This name, which is interpreted (Ex. iii. 14) I AM THAT I AM, appears in our authorized version of the Bible as *Jehovah*. Latterly it has come to be written by Biblical scholars *Yahweh*. Its true pronunciation has been lost through disuse, since the Jewish rabbis, in reading the Scriptures, always substitute for it *Adonai*, Lord.

that then Pharaoh's heart would be softened and he would let the Hebrews depart. At midnight the Angel of Death should go through the land and should smite all the first-born in the land, from the first-born of Pharaoh himself to the first-born of the maid-servant behind the mill and the first-born of beasts; but that the Hebrews should be left unscathed. They had only to set a mark upon their dwellings, and to perform certain rites in which they were instructed, and to stay within doors, and the angel would pass them over so that none of them should die. On the tenth day of the month every head of a family should choose a lamb without spot or blemish, a male of the first year, and should keep it until the fourteenth day of the month, when the whole assembly of the congregation should kill it in the evening. And with a branch of hyssop dipped in the blood of the lamb they should mark the lintels of the door of the house wherein the sacrifice should be eaten. They should eat the flesh roasted, and not raw nor boiled, and they should eat it with bitter herbs and with unleavened bread; and they should leave none of the flesh until morning, but all that was not eaten should be consumed with fire. The Israelites did as Moses had commanded, following these and sundry other directions which were given them; and that night, as had been foretold would happen, the Lord smote all the first-born of the Egyptians, but passed over the houses of which the doors were marked with the blood of the paschal lamb. Then Pharaoh arose in the night and sent for Moses and Aaron, and bade them lead forth their brethren without delay, and to take their flocks with them, and to go and serve the Lord, as they had asked leave to do. This event happened in the spring of the year, in the month Nisan, and this became henceforward the first month of the Jewish year.

After their passage of the Red Sea the Israelites jour-

neyed into the desert of Arabia, and in the third month after setting out from Egypt they came into the wilderness of Sinai. This had been from the first the objective point of Moses, and here he now set to work to organize his people—to give them those peculiar civil, religious, and military institutions which were to distinguish them from all other nationalities for all time. He began by appointing judges for the people, selecting from among them able men, "such as feared God, men of truth, hating covetousness," and appointing them to be "rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." (Ex. xviii:21.) Hitherto he himself had been the sole judge, as well as the leader of the host. By this simple organization of justice he relieved himself of a great part of its labor, though still retaining in his own hands the supreme authority. "All the hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves."

And now was made by the people, through the medium of Moses, a solemn covenant with the Lord, which settled for all time the singularly religious character of the Hebrew polity. For the Lord directed Moses to say unto the people, "Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bear you on eagle's wings and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed and keep my covenant, ye shall be a peculiar treasure to me above all people; for all the earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." And when Moses had laid these words before the people, they answered together and said, "All that the Lord hath spoken we will do."

Whether this account of the covenant is understood literally, or is taken rather as the formal expression of a traditional belief, it contains an undeniable truth. It sets

forth in forcible language a characteristic of the Hebrew nationality, a fundamental article of the Hebrew faith. That which distinguished the ancient Hebrew Nation from all other Nations was not so much its monotheism as the attendant belief that it stood in a peculiar relation to the Deity. It was a chosen people, separated from among the Nations as an object of the peculiar care of the Deity, and hence bound to him by a special tie. The creed of the Nation may be summed up in the simple formula, "Jehovah is the God of Israel, and Israel is the people of Jehovah." In a Nation which existed under this firm conviction, everything centered in religion. Laws, customs, ceremonials, even minute directions respecting the habiliments of the priests, were received directly from a divine source, through the medium of Moses, amid the awful thunderings and flames of Mount Sinai.

Ten of these laws were of so fundamental an importance, and therefore so peculiarly sacred, that the tables on which they were written, and which were kept in the Ark of the Covenant, were believed to have been inscribed by the very finger of the Most High. Other Nations have similarly had fundamental laws, which were held in peculiar veneration—the Twelve Tables, for example, on which were inscribed the laws of the Roman Decemvirs—but in no other case has a divine source been claimed for these laws, or, if claimed, been given such prominence as in this of the Hebrew Decalogue.

A year was spent by Moses at the foot of Mount Sinai in establishing his ordinances of religion—in building a movable sanctuary, with all its paraphernalia and utensils, and in making ready the vestments of his priests. On the first day of the first month in the second year after the Israelites had left Egypt the tabernacle was erected, the ark, the mercy-seat, the altar, and all of the sacred em-

blems were placed in position and were duly consecrated by Moses, and Aaron and his sons were invested with their sacerdotal robes and were solemnly ordained for the service for which they had been appointed. Henceforward the tabernacle, and not Sinai, was to be the place whence the Lord made manifest his will, through his high priests, to the people.

Moses' next care, after having provided for civil administration and for religious observances, was to effect a military organization among his people. Assisted by Aaron and by twelve men, chosen one from each of the twelve tribes, he took a census of all who were able to bear military service. Over each tribe he appointed a captain, and to each tribe he assigned the position it should occupy with reference to the tabernacle, when they were in camp, and likewise its position in the line of march. But from this military organization the Levites, the tribe to which he and Aaron belonged, were excepted. To them was assigned the care of the tabernacle, and their place in camp was in its immediate neighborhood, and on the march they formed its body-guard.

The purpose for which Moses had tarried at Mount Sinai was now attained. He had organized his people and had transformed a lawless host into a Nation. He had given it a priesthood, a ritual, a body of laws and a military organization. The young Nation was now ready to be led into the land in which it had been ordained, and promised that it should establish itself. But the children of Israel proved unworthy of the prize, quailed before the difficulties and dangers in their way, and rebelled, with the consequence of condemnation to a long wandering in the desert.

To trace the course of this forty-years' wandering of the Israelites is not easy, nor is it necessary here. Two

incidents of this long sojourn in the desert may be noted, as showing that the unlimited authority which Moses had assumed over the Israelites was not tamely submitted to in all quarters, but met with strong opposition from some of the more aspiring and influential of the people. The first is the rebellion of Korah, narrated in the sixteenth chapter of the Book of Numbers. Korah was a Levite and a man of prominence in his tribe; and he seems to have voiced a wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction against Moses for what seemed gross favoritism in appointing his own brother, Aaron, high priest. Two hundred and fifty "princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown," united with Korah in open rebellion against the pretensions of Aaron. How the rebellion was put down is told in Numbers xvi:16-38. The second of the incidents referred to is the test of the rods, by which Aaron demonstrated his divine commission, and put down the last remaining vestige of opposition to his authority as high priest. (Numbers xvii:1-8.)

In the beginning of the fortieth year of their wandering the Israelites came to Mount Hor, and here Aaron died, and Eleazar, his son, became high priest.

The term of forty years of expiation had now nearly expired. Moses therefore now began a direct movement upon Canaan, and came to the River Arnon, which, rising in the mountains of Arabia, flows westward into the Dead Sea. South of the Arnon were the Moabites; north of it were the Amorites. It was necessary for the Israelites to pass through the country of the latter in order to reach the Jordan, and Moses asked of their King Sihon permission so to do, promising to abstain from all acts of hostility; but Sihon, instead of granting this request, led his army out to oppose the Hebrews, and was defeated in a great battle. The Israelites

now entered and took possession of the whole country of the Amorites, from the River Arnon on the south to the River Jabbok on the north—a tributary of the Jordan. Then followed an attack upon them by King Og, whose dominions lay north of the Jabbok, and he, too, was defeated, and his land was added to the possessions of the Israelites. Finally, a successful war upon the Midianites left them in secure possession of an extensive country eastward of the Jordan, opposite Jericho.

The great work of Moses had now been accomplished, and it remained only for him to make arrangements preparatory to his departure from his people. A second census of the people was taken by Moses, assisted by Eleazar, the high priest, and it was found that among them was not a man who had been numbered in the first census, taken at Sinai. All had perished in the wilderness, save only Caleb and Joshua.

Moses now formally ordained Joshua as his successor. He also now built, or selected, ten of the forty-eight cities which he had previously by law assigned to the Levites, and three of the ten were set apart as cities of refuge for persons who had involuntarily committed homicide.

And now came a formal and impressive farewell to his people. Gathering the congregation together at a point in the plain of Moab, near the Jordan, he delivered to them an address, in which he foretold many things which would happen to them and gave them fatherly advice as to their future conduct. He also gave them a more complete code of laws—that which now forms the Book of Deuteronomy. Finally, "Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto the mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho," to view the land which he was not permitted to enter. And there, upon Pisgah, Moses died, or, as Josephus says, doubtless on the strength of some old

tradition, "while he was still embracing Eleazar and Joshua, a cloud stood over him on a sudden, and he disappeared in a certain ravine." His age when he died was one hundred and twenty years. No spot was ever pointed out as his resting place.

Attempts have been made by critical students of the Scriptures to rationalize the stories of Moses and the Exodus—to allegorize or otherwise to explain away their miraculous incidents. It may be questioned whether any useful result can follow from such a proceeding. The moment we begin to take freedom with tradition, whether in sacred or profane history, we enter upon an uncertain path, which may lead us we know not whither. We must either accept without question the narrative as it stands, or admit an entire ignorance of the true story of Moses, unless we can find some light in the laws which he is credited with giving.

Historical criticism may question the accuracy of the tradition as to the origin of the Mosaic laws. It may see in this code, as it does elsewhere, no more than a product of the slow development and gradual establishment of customs extending back in the history of the Nation to a time far beyond the reach of tradition. But does this necessarily destroy the historical character of Moses? Unquestionably such a supposition, if admitted, would destroy his character as a divinely commissioned lawgiver, but it might still leave him his character as a wise legislator. Indeed, from the very nature of the case, it is not possible that a disconnected body of customs and practices, often conflicting with one another, should become embodied into a systematic code without the supervision of an organizer, able to bring out of a chaos of traditional practices order and harmony. This being conceded, we may discover in both the polity and the ceremonial of the

Hebrews' characteristics which bear plainly the impress of a single mind. Tradition refers these characteristics to Moses, and sound criticism cannot set aside the pretension, even though it may question the accuracy of the story of Moses, as it has come down to us, just as it does that of every great figure which looms up in the mist of prehistoric time. Some man of a strong and commanding personality must have appeared, at some time in the history of the forming Hebrew Nation, to mold its character, give form to its religion, and to organize its laws, and who can this priest and legislator have been if not Moses?

SOLON

B. C. 638-558

THE BEGINNING OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT

Solon was an Athenian sage whose wise legislation at a critical period in the history of Athens laid the foundation of its greatness. Unfortunately, while we have very complete accounts of his work of reform, but few facts in his life have come down to us.

The birth of Solon may be placed about the year B. C. 638. He belonged to one of the most aristocratic of the Athenian families, though in moderate circumstances, tracing his genealogy to Codrus, the last of the Kings of Attica, and through Codrus to Neptune, the god of the sea. His father is said to have diminished his substance by prodigality, which compelled Solon in his earlier years to have recourse to trade. In this pursuit he visited many parts of Greece and Asia, and doubtless profited by the opportunity to extend his knowledge of men and institutions. Solon early distinguished himself by his poetical compositions, or perhaps it would be more exact to say by his philosophical writings, for in his day the art of prose writing had not yet arisen, and every treatise, on whatever subject, was put into a metrical form. To judge from the few fragments which have come down to us, Solon's writings dealt largely with matters of common, every-day interest. They were rich in shrewd observation and in sensible advice, and so widely did they extend Solon's reputation for wisdom that he came to be reckoned one of the Seven Sages of Greece.

The first appearance of Solon in public life was in connection with a long-standing contest between Athens and the little state of Megara over the possession of the island of Salamis. The Athenians had repeatedly met with reverses in attempting to establish their claim to the island, and finally in despair or in disgust they had decreed sentence of death against any one who should propose a renewal of the contest. Fired with indignation at this spiritless conduct of his countrymen, Solon rushed one day into the market place, feigning, it is said, the action of a madman to evade the penalty, and mounting the stone from which the heralds were accustomed to make their proclamations, read to the bystanders a poem in which he upbraided the Athenians for their pusillanimity, and called upon them to make one more effort to recover the "lovely island." The stratagem had its desired effect. He was seconded by friends; popular enthusiasm was aroused; the death penalty was repealed; a new expedition was decreed, and Solon was given its command. In a single campaign he drove the Megarans from the island; but a tedious war followed, until at last both parties united in a request to the Lacedæmonians to appoint commissioners to settle the matter in dispute between them. Solon was one of those chosen to plead the cause of Athens before this commission, and so skillfully did he conduct the case—citing the evidence of old burial customs on the island, inscriptions on tombstones, etc.—that the decision was in favor of the Athenians, who were given and ever after retained possession of the island. Solon is said, on this occasion, to have forged the line in the Iliad in which Ajax is represented as ranging his ships by the side of the Athenians.

The reputation which Solon acquired in this affair of Salamis was soon after heightened and more widely diffused through Greece by the leading part which he took

in the Sacred War, waged in behalf of the Temple of Delphi, and which resulted in the destruction of Cirrha. We find him, too, at this time actively engaged in quieting internal disturbances in his own state. It was Solon who persuaded the powerful family of the Alcmæonids, which in the popular estimation had become tainted with sacrilege —through the act of Megacles, who had torn from the sanctuary of Minerva some of the followers of Cylon—to stand trial and to submit to a sentence of perpetual banishment.

We may picture Solon at this time as by far the most prominent man in Athens—a man who, by his able leadership, had won the respect and confidence of all classes, and who, moreover, though belonging to the nobility, had by his sympathetic, fatherly nature, endeared himself in a peculiar way to the common people. We have now to consider the great work of his life. To understand how he came to be entrusted with it, we must review, even though hastily, the political condition of Athens in the time of Solon.

Athens was then governed by an oligarchy. All political power was in the hands of a few families of the "well-descended," as they styled themselves, who chose from their own number the Archons, or Governors, and other public officers, while the low-born common people had no part either in making or administering the laws. Like all other one-sided governments, this of Athens was oppressive. It was conducted wholly in the interest of the governing class. Though the history of the times is exceedingly fragmentary, it affords abundant evidence that Athens had long been vexed by internal dissensions, the result of the harsh government of the aristocracy. It was, apparently, in the hope of quieting the popular discontent that some thirty years before the period we are

now considering Draco had been appointed to draw up a new code of laws, which, however, seems not to have accomplished the desired result; and, indeed, the code of Draco must have been practically a dead letter from the first, for it is hardly conceivable that laws which provided a death penalty for every offense can ever have been strictly administered. The attempt of Cylon a few years later to accomplish the overthrow of the nobility with the aid of the common people, and to establish himself despot of Athens, though the attempt miscarried, shows that there was a recognized hostility between the lower and the upper classes, which, skillfully organized, might result in the overthrow of the existing government. The warning seems not to have been heeded, however. On the contrary, the unscrupulous and short-sighted aristocracy had continued to mismanage affairs until the condition of the common people had become one of intolerable wretchedness. The poor had become reduced to a state of abject poverty. Many of them had borrowed money of the wealthy at exorbitant rates of interest, on the security of their persons or property. Every debtor unable to fulfill his contract was liable to be adjudged a slave of his creditor until he could find the means of paying his debt or of working it out, and not only himself, but also his minor sons and his unmarried daughters and sisters, whom the law gave him the power of selling. In this way a very great number of the poor had become reduced to bondage, and in some instances they had been sold out of Athens to foreign masters. Moreover, a large number of the small properties were heavily mortgaged. All over Attica might be seen stone pillars testifying to these transactions—bearing each the name of the creditor for whom the little farm on which it stood might at any time be sold.

A crisis seems finally to have been reached in this

wretched state of affairs, though whether an actual uprising of the people against their oppressors occurred or only a threatened uprising, we do not know. At any rate, it became clear to the dominant party that there must be reform or there must be revolution. They very sensibly decided for reform, and Solon, a man of their own class, but immensely popular with all classes, was the man to whom they turned instinctively to help them out of their difficulties. Solon was elected Archon B. C. 594, and was given full authority to make any changes which he might deem beneficial to the State.

There can be little doubt that Solon could now easily have overthrown the oligarchy with the aid of the people and have rendered himself the "tyrant" of Athens, as did his kinsman, Pisistratus, a few years later, and he was urged to do this by many of his friends. But he turned a deaf ear to all advice of this sort. "Despotism," he said, "may be a fine country, but there is no way out of it." Dismissing, therefore, all thought of personal aggrandizement, he devoted all his energies to the difficult task imposed upon him.

He began by relieving the poorer class of debtors from their overwhelming burden. He canceled at once all these contracts in which the debtor had borrowed money on the security of his person or his land, and forbade such contracts for the future. He abolished imprisonment or enslavement for debt. He swept away all the mortgages, and had the hateful pillars removed, leaving the land free of all past claims. He released and restored to their full rights as citizens all those debtors who were in actual slavery, and made provision for repurchasing and restoring to their homes all Athenians who had been sold into foreign slavery. These sweeping measures released the poorest class from their difficulties; but many of their creditors

must have been left, in consequence, unable to discharge their own obligations. To give relief to these, Solon debased the currency, thus practically scaling down their indebtedness. The amount thus taken off from all debts which had not been wholly extinguished was, according to Mr. Grote, about 27 per cent.

These measures must have exasperated the feelings as well as diminished the fortunes of many persons, but they gave to the large body of the lower order and to the small proprietors all which they could reasonably have hoped for, and we are told that after a short interval they became generally acceptable to the public mind and procured for Solon a great increase of popularity.

The purpose for which Solon had been appointed dictator was now accomplished. He had succeeded in healing effectually the prevailing discontent. So great was the general satisfaction in consequence, and so complete the confidence he had inspired, that he was now asked to undertake the still greater work of drawing up a new Constitution for the State and a complete code of laws.

As a preliminary to this new work Solon had an assessment made of all the property in the State, to serve as a basis for a new classification of the citizens. Henceforward the title of the citizens to the offices and honors of the State was to be dependent on the amount of their property and not on their birth. This was a distinguishing feature of Solon's Constitution, and it led eventually to important consequences, though probably at first the change was not great, since there must have been then but few wealthy citizens who were not also of the nobility. All the citizens were distributed into four classes, according to the amount of their annual income, and it is interesting to note as a characteristic of the times that the incomes were reckoned, not in money, but in measures of grain. Those

whose income amounted to 500 measures (medimni) or upward formed the first class; those whose income ranged between 300 and 500 measures formed the second class; the third class was made up of those whose income was between 200 and 300 measures. All other citizens, including, of course, the poorest, who could hardly be said to have an income, were grouped into the fourth and doubtless the most numerous class.

The members of the first three classes were required to pay an income tax proportionate to the amount of their property; but the fourth class were exempt from taxation altogether. Members of the first class alone were eligible to the Archonship and other high offices of the State. Those of the second and third classes might fill inferior posts, and they were liable to military service, the former as horsemen and the latter as heavy-armed infantry. The fourth class were excluded from all public offices, and served in the army only as light-armed infantry, equipped at the expense of the State. They were permitted, however, to vote in the public Assembly, in which were elected the Archons and other public officers, and they thus became an important political element in the State. In giving to every citizen the right of suffrage, even though the wealthy alone could be elected to office, Solon introduced an innovation of which very probably he did not foresee the consequence. Eventually the property restriction was removed, the public offices were thrown open to all classes of citizens alike, so that the humblest Athenian citizen became in the end politically the peer of the wealthiest.

The public Assembly not only elected the Archons—the number of which was nine, as under the old Constitution—but it sat in judgment upon them at the close of their term of office. Every Archon was required at the end of his year of office to render an account of his administra-

tion to the public Assembly, and if the report was unsatisfactory he might be punished by being deprived of the dignities and privileges which by ancient usage were bestowed upon those who had filled this high office.

The extension of the duties of the old public Assembly led to the institution of a new body. Solon created a Senate, or Council of Four Hundred, with the special object of preparing matters for the discussion of the public Assembly, presiding over its meetings, and carrying into effect its decrees and resolutions. No subject could be brought before the people in the public Assembly which had not previously been acted upon by the Four Hundred. The members of this Council were chosen annually by the public Assembly, and they, as well as all the other public servants, were accountable at the close of their term of office to the people.

Already there existed as a part of the old Government of Athens a Senate, which consisted of those who had held the office of Archon. This institution Solon did not see fit to abolish. On the contrary, he enlarged its powers, giving it a general supervision over the laws and institutions of the State, and imposing upon it the special duty of inspecting the lives and occupations of the citizens. To distinguish this ancient from the newly created Senate, it was called henceforward the Senate of the Areopagus, a designation borrowed from the place (Mars' Hill) in which its sittings were held.

The laws of Solon were inscribed upon wooden rollers and triangular tablets, which were kept at first in the Acropolis and afterward in the Prytaneum, or Town Hall. They related to almost every subject connected with the public or the private life of the citizen. They provided punishment for crimes, restricted the occupation of citizens, prescribed rules for marriage and for burial, for the common

use of springs and wells, and for the mutual interest of neighboring farmers in planting and hedging their adjoining lands. The most important of these laws were those relating to debtor and creditor, which have already been spoken of. Several of them had for their object the encouragement of trade and manufactures. Foreigners were induced to settle in Attica by the promise of protection and valuable privileges, provision being made for granting citizenship to those who should settle permanently in Athens for the purpose of carrying on some industrial profession. In order to prevent idleness, Solon directed the Senate of the Areopagus to keep a watch on the citizens and to punish every one who had no course of regular labor to support him. If a father had not taught his son some art or profession, the son was relieved from all obligation to support him in his old age. In order to encourage the growth of industrial arts he forbade the exportation of all products of the soil except olive oil, it being his wish that trade with foreigners should be carried on by exporting the produce of artisan labor instead of the produce of the land.

One of the most curious of Solon's laws was that which declared a man dishonored and disfranchised who in a civil sedition stood aloof and took no part with either side. The object of this celebrated law seems to have been to create a public spirit in the citizens, and a lively interest in the affairs of the State. The ancient governments, unlike those of modern times, could not summon to their assistance any regular police or military force, and unless the citizens came forward in civil commotions, any ambitious man, supported by a powerful party, might easily make himself master of the State.

The wisdom of Solon's laws is proved by the fact that they continued to be the basis of Athenian legislation and

jurisprudence down to the latest times. His admission of the common people to a share in the government, even though only to the extent of having a vote in the public Assembly, is the more remarkable since it is the first instance in the world's history of any attempt at popular government. Solon had no model from which to copy, since in his day all governments were either monarchical or aristocratic. He can have been inspired only by a conviction, based upon his own keen observation of human nature, of the innate good sense of even the most humble member of a community in cases in which his own best interests are concerned. What has become in our own time the dominant political idea, that of a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," was thus foreshadowed, however dimly, in the legislation of this most remarkable of ancient lawgivers.

Solon was well aware that there were many imperfections in his government. But these very imperfections add to his credit as a statesman. He had not attempted to accomplish impossibilities. His was no visionary scheme of government, temptingly philosophical, but quite impossible of realization. On the contrary, with sober, practical good sense, he adapted his constitution and laws to the people as he found them and the conditions with which he had to deal. His legislation contained within it, however, the germs out of which developed in no long time the now most renowned institution of the ancient world—the Athenian democracy, as we find it in the age of Pericles.

Solon bound the government and people of Athens by a solemn oath to maintain unaltered his laws for a period of ten years. But no sooner had his constitution gone into effect than he was besieged by those who came to inquire respecting the meaning of certain provisions or to suggest

changes. Foreseeing constant annoyance of this sort if he remained in Athens, he determined to go into voluntary exile for the period of the ten years during which the Athenians were bound to maintain his laws inviolate. He first visited Egypt and afterward proceeded to Cyprus, where he appears to have resided during the greater part of the time of his absence from Athens.

Soon after his return to Athens Solon had the mortification and pain of seeing his government overthrown by his own kinsman, Pisistratus (B. C. 560). He had detected the ambitious purpose of this popular leader and had vainly attempted to dissuade him from it, and, moreover, had denounced him in verses addressed to the people. When the usurpation of Pisistratus was finally accomplished, he still continued to denounce him, and upbraided the people with their cowardice. "You might," he said, "with ease have crushed the tyrant in the bud, but nothing now remains but to pluck him up by the roots." But no one responded to his appeal. He refused to fly, and when his friends asked him upon what he relied for protection, "On my old age," was his reply. It is creditable to Pisistratus that he left his aged relative unmolested, and even asked his advice in the administration of the government.

Solon did not long survive the overthrow of the constitution. He died a year or two afterward at the advanced age of eighty. His ashes are said to have been scattered, by his own direction, round the island of Salamis, which he had won for the Athenian people.

CONFUCIUS

B. C. 550-478

THE SOURCES OF WISDOM IN ANTIQUITY

If the merit of a teacher is to be gauged by the number of his pupils, then must Confucius, the sage of China, head the list of the world's great philosophers. Nearly one-third of the human race to-day hang upon the lips of Confucius. Temples are erected to him, and universities are established, where learned professors expound his doctrines, while peasants in the common schools commit to memory and daily repeat his maxims.

A sage who has won for himself so high a place in the veneration of a people can, we may be certain, have been no ordinary personage. And yet the story of the life of Confucius is, on the whole, a disappointing one. We fail to discover in his biography, as it has come down to us, when stripped of its plainly fictitious details, any evidence of extraordinary mental vigor in the man, while the few writings which can with certainty be referred to Confucius are almost painfully deficient in any of those marks of greatness of intellect which we naturally look for in them. We shall be led to conclude that the secret of the great popularity of Confucius was less in the quality than in the character of his teaching. He was essentially and emphatically a Chinaman—an embodiment of one of the strongest traits of the Chinese character, profound respect for the past and aversion to progress.

Confucius was born in the year 550 B. C., and was therefore very nearly a contemporary of the Greek sage

Pythagoras. He was of noble lineage, though his father was in straitened circumstances, tracing his genealogy back over 500 years to the Kings of the dynasty of Shang. His family name was Kung, and the name Confucius, by which he is best known to us, is a Latinized form of Kung Fu-tze, by which designation he came to be known finally —that is, Kung the Philosopher. Before giving some of the few facts in his life which seem to be authentic, it will be best to glance at the condition of China at that period in its history.

In the time of Confucius, China—or, more properly, the Kingdom of Chow—had less than one-sixth of its present extent of territory. It consisted only of what is now the province of Honan, together with some bordering portions of the present surrounding provinces. The home of Confucius was in the State of Lu, eastward of Honan, in the present province of Shantung. Through the northern part of the kingdom ran the River Ho, or Yellow River. The population of the country at that time has been estimated at from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000. Chow was a feudal kingdom, quite closely resembling in its constitution France during the Middle Ages. The reigning dynasty—that of Chow—had been in possession of the Government since 1122 B. C., but its authority had long been waning, until it had become little more than nominal. The real power was in the hands of a nobility, which consisted of several orders, closely resembling the marquises, dukes, counts, etc., of Europe in the feudal times. The system of the government required that these princes, on the occasion of a fresh succession, should appear at the court and receive their investiture from the King, and thereafter should visit the court at stated times. They were required to pay annually certain specified tributes, and they might be called out with their levies at any time

to render military service. Practically, however, they were so many petty independent sovereigns, each supreme in his own little state, and there were among them jealousies and rivalries, which kept the kingdom in a perpetual state of internecine war. The chronicles of the period are filled with tales of violence and rapine and atrocious crimes. Good government had ceased anywhere to exist in the kingdom, and in its place were disorganization, misrule, and misery for the mass of the people.

Such was the condition of affairs in China at the time of the birth of Confucius. How to remedy the evil, how to bring order out of chaos, and to restore peace and happiness to his distracted country, was a question to which he early began to devote his serious thought. He turned to history to find an answer to the question, for already China had an historical literature, covering, or professing to cover, a period of over twenty centuries. His study of the good old times led him to see in the present a deplorable state of degeneracy. The remedy was to destroy the present and restore the past. An implicit faith in the wisdom of the men of former generations was a distinctive feature, as has already been intimated, in the Confucian philosophy. Confucius never laid claim to any peculiar wisdom in himself. He was not of a speculative or imaginative turn of mind. He claimed only to have learned by diligent study the wisdom of the fathers, and his highest aspiration was to imitate their example. He always looked backward; never forward. With this habit of mind, Confucius could have no conception of progress, for in his eyes all change meant deterioration.

Confucius tells us that he began to devote his attention to learning at the age of fifteen, but that it was not until he had passed his thirtieth year that he "stood firm" in his convictions on all of the subjects to the learning

of which he had bent his mind. In his twenty-second year he opened a school for the instruction of young men in the principles of good government, probably at first in a modest way, though he seems soon to have gained a high reputation, and to have secured many disciples, and also to have attracted the attention of the leading men in his state. He accepted from his disciples substantial aid; but he rejected none who could give him even the smallest fee, and he would retain none who did not show earnestness and capacity.

But Confucius aspired to be more than a teacher. Having made himself a master of the wisdom of the ages, he longed for an opportunity to put his wisdom to the practical test of actual administration of affairs. It was not, however, until he had reached his fifty-second year that he attained to this goal of his wishes, through an appointment as chief magistrate of the city of Chung-too, in his own State of Lu. A marvelous reformation, we are told, at once took place in the manners of the people. He was called, in consequence, to a higher office. He was finally appointed Minister of Crime, and, if we may trust his biographers, forthwith all crime ceased. At the same time two of his disciples obtained influential positions in Lu, and assisted him in the work of reform. One object at which he aimed was to restore the Prince to his legitimate authority, and this he accomplished by dismantling the fortified cities in which the great chiefs maintained themselves, like the barons of Europe. For two years Confucius continued at this work of reformation, and so remarkable a change for the better did he bring about that he became the idol of the people. Then came a check in the good work, before which even Confucius was helpless. The Prince of an adjoining state, observing the tide of prosperity that was rising over Lu, and fearing lest that

state should become supreme in the kingdom, conceived a novel but effective expedient for undermining its power. He sent to the Prince of Lu a corps of beautiful women, skilled in music and dancing, and a troop of fine horses. Thenceforward Confucius was neglected; the Prince of Lu yielded supinely to the fascination of the harem.

Confucius now departed from Lu in sorrow and disappointment, and set out on a wandering, which lasted thirteen years, through the various states of the kingdom, hoping continually that the Prince of Lu would discover his error, and would recall him; but no recall ever came. In the course of his travels he seems to have tried to induce some Prince to give him office; but though many offered him a home and support, he found no one who was willing to trust him with the management of his affairs. In this long and famous wandering Confucius was accompanied by his favorite disciples, and the many incidents which occurred and adventures which befell them, make interesting reading in the biographies of the sage.

Confucius returned to Lu in his sixty-ninth year. The state was now in the hands of the son of the Prince who had neglected him; but Confucius would not again take office. During the remainder of his days he devoted himself to literary work and the giving of lectures to his disciples. He died in 478 B. C., at the age of seventy-two.

The grave of Confucius stands in a large rectangular enclosure, outside the city Kiuh-fow. A large and lofty mound, which is approached through a long avenue of cypress trees, has standing in front of it a marble statue, bearing the title given to Confucius under the Sung dynasty: "The most ancient Teacher; the All-accomplished, the All-informed King."

Confucius was a student, rather than a philosopher—

a man learned in all the lore of the ancients; not an original thinker in a metaphysical sense. He simply drew lessons from what he read or from what he observed. He was, as he himself said, not a "maker," but a "transmitter." Nor did he ever lay claim to divine inspiration. Looking backward over the past, he found existing certain institutions and relations which must be conceived to have been divinely established. There were five relations in particular which might be considered as forming the basis of society, as it had been ordained by heaven. These relations were those of King and subject, husband and wife, father and son, elder brothers and younger, and the mutual relation of friends. On the one side, in the case of the first four, there was authority; on the other submission. So long as these relations continued unimpaired, society was safe. But the authority should be wisely exercised; the submission should be unquestioning. Between friends, the mutual promotion of virtue should be the guiding principle. These divinely ordained relations were, however, continually disturbed by the human passions. Hence came all the evils which afflicted society. Restore the relation to their pristine perfectness, and all social disorders would cease. Let the King be a true King, exercising his authority firmly but wisely; let the people be submissive, and similarly let all the other relations be maintained, as it was the design of heaven that they should be maintained, and there would be no social disturbances. More than this, the natural relations might always be maintained, provided the controlling member in each couple were guided by right principles. Let the model ruler appear and forthwith there would appear the model people. He himself could form the model. Confucius once said: "If any ruler would submit to me for twelve months, I should accomplish some-

thing considerable, and in three years I should attain the realization of my hopes." How his first and only experiment in governing was frustrated by the seductions of beauty, has already been related.

The scope of the studies of Confucius took, however, a much wider range than the management of affairs of state. He descended into all the minutiæ of the relations of man to man in even the most trivial affairs of daily life. He gave minute instructions for the nurture and education of children; he impressed upon children the duty of filial obedience; he gave rules of etiquette and conduct for the intercourse of all classes of society. No important action, whether in the family or in society at large, was overlooked or left by him without some rule for guidance.

Underlying all these rules of social intercourse—forming their basis—was the "golden rule," which has often been quoted, "What you do not like when done to yourself, do not do to others." By a peculiarity of the Chinese written language this Confucian rule may be expressed by a single monogram. Confucius himself is said to have first drawn it, when asked by one of his disciples whether there was not one word which would serve as a rule of practice for all one's life. The monogram consists of a character which means "heart," with which is combined a symbol which means "as." It is therefore to be read "as heart," which may easily be expanded into "as the heart dictates"—a formula whereby Confucius doubtless intended to express his conviction that our impulses are always right, though passion may interfere with action. It has been said that Confucius gave the rule in a negative form only. But he himself understood it also in its positive and most comprehensive application, and on one occasion deplored that he had not been able always himself to follow it.

The teachings of Confucius are known to us mainly through the writings of his disciples. Very little which he himself wrote has been preserved. And, indeed, those writings which are accepted generally as having come from his pen throw little or no light upon his doctrines. On the contrary, they are so entirely without any traces of his reputed wisdom, that one cannot but regret that we are obliged to credit him with their authorship. The *Chun Tsu,* or *Spring and Autumn Annals,* is the only extensive work which can be attributed to Confucius. It deals with the history of the State of Lu during a time when, says Mencius, "the world was fallen to decay, and right principles had fallen away," when "perverse discourses and oppressive deeds were again waxen rife," and when "ministers murdered their rulers and sons murdered their fathers." One would suppose that in treating a subject such as this, Confucius would have found abundant food for reflection and comment, and would have pointed to the moral of so wretched a tale. But if one turns to the work in the expectation of finding in it anything of this sort, he is doomed to be grievously disappointed. The work is the baldest of all annals, consisting simply of sententious statements that such or such a thing happened at such or such time, with no thread of narrative to connect the events, and not a word of comment. Here is a sample of this great work of Confucius, selected by Dr. Legge—a work by which Confucius declared that he would be known to posterity and by which he would be judged:

"1. In the 15th year in spring the Duke went to Tse. 2. A body of men from Tsoo invaded Sen. 3. In the third month the Duke had a meeting with the Marquise of Tse and others, when they made a covenant in Mow-Kew, and then went on to Kwang. 4. Kung-Sun Gaou led a force,

and with the great officers of other Princes endeavored to relieve Sen. 5. In the summer, in the 5th month, the sun was eclipsed." And so on through page after page.

From this dreary book of annals we turn to the *Confucian Analects,* which are records of the doings and sayings of the sage, written by one of his faithful disciples, and here, let us hope, we get a better idea of what manner of man he was. The following are a few of the reputed sayings of Confucius:

"What the superior man seeks is in himself; what the small man seeks is in others.

"A poor man who does not flatter, and a rich man who is not proud, are passable characters; but they are not equal to the poor who are yet cheerful, and the rich who yet love the rules of propriety.

"Learning, undigested by thought, is labor lost; thought, unassisted by learning, is perilous.

"In style all that is required is that it convey the meaning.

"The cautious seldom err."

Sententious sayings such as these form the bulk of the Confucian philosophy. It is in this form that the wisdom of the sage is memorized by the millions of his followers. Thousands of the literati in China can repeat by heart every sentence of the classical books; while the less highly educated people of the lower classes have scores of these Confucian maxims in their memories, and little else in the way of moral precept.

Confucius was a moralist only, and in no sense the founder of a religious creed. Indeed, he purposely and expressly kept aloof from the subject of religion. "While you cannot serve man," he replied to one of his disciples who had questioned him on this subject, "how can you serve spirits?" And to the question, "What becomes of

man after he has taken his departure from this world?" his reply was, "While you do not know life, what can you know about death?" Confucius confined his thoughts and those of his disciples to the affairs of this life. There was, he conceived, enough in this world to occupy man's thought, and it were folly to perplex one's self over the uncertainties of a future state. And such is Confucianism to-day—an unreligious rationalism, or, as is the approved modern term expressive of this undecided state of mind, agnosticism. Missionaries have told us that the educated in China, who are all followers of Confucius, and are therefore atheists, ordinarily return in the hour of death to the belief and practices of Buddhism, and the statement seems probable, for gloomy indeed in that hour must appear the soulless wisdom of Confucius.

Historians have credited Confucius with having molded the national character of the Chinese. That he gave it the medium of its expression, would, perhaps, be a more exact statement of his influence in this direction. It is not easy to believe that any one man can ever have formed the character of a nation. China is stationary to-day, not because Confucius bound it to the past, but because of the essentially immobile character of its people, and Confucius is great in China because he is the apostle of immobility.

ZOROASTER

DATE UNKNOWN

FOUNDS THE RELIGION OF THE MAGI

The name Zoroaster is a Greek form of Zarathustra, the name of an ancient sage, or prophet, who stands in the traditions of Persia as the founder of the national religion—now represented by the religion of the Parsees of India—and as the author of the sacred writings of the Persians.

Of the life of Zoroaster we know absolutely nothing. The accounts of him which have come down to us from Greek and Roman sources differ widely among themselves, both as to the time when he lived and the country of his birth, and very little reliance can be placed on the legends concerning him in the later Persian and Parsee literature. Herodotus, in his account of the religion of the Persians, makes no mention of Zoroaster, though the name occurs in a fragment of an earlier writer, Xanthus. Plato speaks of him as the founder of the doctrine of the Magi, and calls him the son of Oromanes. Another early Greek writer says he was a Persian, the first Magian; another still, that he was a king of the Bactrians, and founder of the Magian knowledge of the stars. Pliny speaks of Zoroaster, and gives us the interesting facts in his life that he laughed on the day of his birth, and that for thirty years he lived in the desert upon cheese. As to the time in which he lived, one Greek authority places him 5,000 years before the Trojan War; Ctesias makes him a contemporary of Semiramis, while a later Greek writer

dismisses this question with the sensible remark that it is no longer possible to determine with certainty when he lived and legislated.

Some modern scholars have questioned whether Zoroaster was an historical personality, and not rather a fictitious character, to whom tradition had found it convenient to refer work which was really done by a priesthood, and which probably extended over a long series of years. This view is not favored, however, by a close study of the relics which still exist of the old Persian sacred writings. The doctrine set forth in these writings is marked by strong characteristics which bear every appearance of having been impressed upon it by a single mind and at some definite period. The opinion of those most competent to judge now is that Zoroaster was a real person, that he lived some centuries before the founding of the Persian Empire by Cyrus, and that his home was probably Bactria, in the eastern part of Iran.

Iran was an ancient designation for that high plateau which lies eastward from the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, between Hindustan and the Caspian Sea, and which is now occupied by Persia, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan. Northward of it are the steppes of Tartary; eastward the plains of Turkestan. This extensive and lofty plateau is usually held to have been the original seat of the Aryan race—the race to which we belong—the home from which at some remote epoch in the past, or probably at different times, were sent off migratory branches, southward into India, to become Hindoos, westward to become in Europe Celts, Germans, Italians, and Greeks. Within this area, it is altogether likely, originated the germs of that nature worship which developed, in India, first into the simple religion of the Vedas, and later into the more philosophical religion of

Brahma, and out of which in the West sprang the mythologies of the several nations of Europe. The Medes and Persians belonged to this Aryan race, and were, therefore, heirs to the original Aryan nature-worship. But in the times of Zoroaster this religion must already have lost much of its primitive character, and must have advanced far in its development into a theological creed, as it did in India; but its course of development in the two countries seems to have been somewhat different. It may not be possible to say what was the precise form of the Iranian religion, in the times immediately preceding Zoroaster. And, indeed, to treat of this question would be to exceed the scope of the present article. All that is designed here is to present the unquestionable fact that Zoroaster had material with which to work—that he found a religion already existing, and that he was simply a reformer, or reconstructor, not an originator.

Our knowledge of the religion of Zoroaster is derived partly from the accounts of it given by Herodotus and other Greek writers, but principally from the sacred writings themselves of the Persians—or what is left of them—namely, the Zend-Avesta, the sacred book of the Parsees.

From Herodotus we learn that the ministers of the national religion of Persia were the Magi, of whom there were two classes. The first consisted of inferior priests, who conducted the ordinary ceremonies of religion. The second had charge of the sacred fire. The whole order was presided over by an arch-magus, or high priest. They had three kinds of temples; first, common oratories, in which the people performed their devotions, and where the sacred fire was kept only in lamps; next, public temples with altars on which the sacred fire was kept continually burning, where the higher

order of the Magi directed the public devotions and the people assembled; and, lastly, the grand seat of the Archmagus, which was visited by the people at certain seasons, with peculiar solemnity, and to which it was deemed an indispensable duty for every one to repair once in his lifetime. From Diogenes Laertius we learn that no pictures or images of the gods were used in the worship of the Magi; that they practiced divination and prophecy, "pretending that the gods appeared to them;" that they were clothed in white robes; that they made use of the ground for their beds, and of a reed for their staff.

From these and other accounts given us of the Magi by the Greek writers we may learn that their system of worship was of a complex character, closely resembling in its organization that of the later Roman Catholic Church. The Greeks had also some knowledge of the doctrine of the Magi. But regarding this our best source of information is their sacred book itself—the Zend-Avesta, already referred to, which has now been in the hands of European scholars for a little over a century. A short notice of this book may precede our account of the doctrine which it inculcates, and which passes for that of Zoroaster.

The Zend-Avesta—or more properly the Avesta, for Zend, which means "translation," is applied by the Parsees themselves to a translation of the ancient text into their modern Pahlavi tongue, and never to the original text itself—is a work scarcely larger than the Iliad of Homer, or than the Pentateuch of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is written in the old Persian language, and is the only specimen of that language now extant. It is a mere fragment of a once extensive literature—all that was rescued from destruction on the overthrow of the Sasanian dynasty of Persia by the Mohammedans, in the seventh

century. The Parsees claim that their Avesta in the Sasanian period numbered twenty-one books, and that even then a large part of the original text had been lost. This statement seems to be confirmed by accounts from other sources. Hermippus, in the Third Century B. C., affirmed that Zoroaster, the founder of the doctrine of the Magi, was the author of twenty books, each containing 100,000 verses. According to the Arab historian, Tabari, these were written on 1,200 ox-hides. Another Arab writer, Masudi, makes the number of hides 12,000, and states that the book consisted of twenty-one parts, each containing 200 leaves.

In its present shape the Avesta consists of four parts. The first two of these are liturgical, consisting of texts that are recited by the priests on solemn ceremonial occasions. The third is of a narrative character, giving the history of creation, the story of Yima and the Golden Age, etc. The fourth, known as the "Little Avesta," is designed for the use of the priests and the laity alike. It is a book of private devotion, containing, besides some short prayers, which are in daily use among the Parsees, songs of praise addressed to the deities and angels of the Zoroastrian creed.

Of these four sections of the Avesta the most interesting are the first and third. In the former are found the *Gathas,* or "Hymns" of Zoroaster, written in meter and in an archaic language, which differs in many respects from that ordinarily used in the Avesta. These *Gathas* contain the discourses, exhortations, and revelations of the Prophet. They are certainly the oldest part of the work, and if any part of it can rightly be attributed to Zoroaster, they seem the most likely portion to be of his authorship. In the third—the narrative section—are to be found the essential and characteristic features of the

Zoroastrian doctrine, under the form of a two-fold history of the "good" and the "bad" creation.

Every good in the world is offset by an opposite, which is evil. Light is offset by darkness; heat by cold; virtue by vice. This antithesis runs all through nature. It is found in the outer world; it is found in the inner world —that is, in man himself. This principle of dualism and necessary antagonism is the foundation of the religion of Zoroaster. The theory of this religion was that good and evil have proceeded from different sources—that they were the creation of two distinct and hostile powers, or spirits. To the spirit of good was given the name *Ahura-Mazda* (Ormuzd); the spirit of evil was *Angro-Main-yush* (Ahriman). While the former has not the power to destroy or even to restrain the latter, he is still in one sense his superior. It is Ahura-Mazda who always takes the initiative. All through the story of creation we see him creating good, which his adversary, always watchful of him, proceeds at once to neutralize by creating an opposite evil.

But the struggle does not end with creation. It is a continual, unceasing warfare, carried on, however, not directly between the opposing spirits, but between their respective creations. It is the conflict between good and evil, which we may see forever going on around us and within us.

In the center of this battle is man himself; his soul is the object of the struggle. Man was the creation of Ahura, who therefore has the right to call him to an account. But Ahura created him free, so that he is accessible to the evil power of Ahriman. Man, therefore, takes a part in the conflict by all his life and activity in the world. By a true confession of faith and by every good deed, and by continually keeping pure his body and his soul, he

impairs the power of Ahriman and establishes a claim of reward upon Ahura; but by every evil deed and defilement he increases the evil and renders service to Ahriman.

The conflict is not, however, an unending one. Ahura knows that in the end he must win, and Ahriman, that in the end he must be defeated, and must be buried forever, powerless, in his own darkness. The coming of a millennium—a time when all evil will disappear from the earth, and when there will remain only what is good—was looked forward to by Zoroaster. All through the *Gathas* runs the pious hope that the end of the present world is not far off. He himself hopes along with his followers to live to see the decisive turn of things, the dawn of a new and better age. Then will come the final conflict which shall destroy forever the power of evil in the world. Then will Ahura sit in judgment upon mankind, and punish the wicked and assign to the good the deserved reward. Ahriman, and those who have been delivered over to him, will be cast into the abyss, there to abide forever in darkness, while upon earth will be endless summer and a perennial day—no more winter and no more night. And here the pious and faithful will lead a happy life unvexed by evil, because no longer in the power of Ahriman.

Such in its essential features was the religion founded by Zoroaster. In process of time this purely spiritual creed, too abstract to satisfy all the requirements of the popular instinctive fondness for concrete forms, became partly overshadowed with a more materialistic cult. In the time of Herodotus the worship of Mithra, a deity popularly identified with the sun, and unknown to Zoroaster, had assumed an important place in the system of the Magi. Mithra, in this later creed, was regarded as the "intercessor," standing between Ahura and Ahriman, and, therefore, in a position to be eminently serviceable to man-

kind. Besides Mithra several other new divinities appear in this popularized form of Zoroasterism, as Anahita, the Goddess of Water, Tishtrya (Sirius), and others of the heavenly bodies.

The religion of Zoroaster never extended beyond the limits of Iran and the neighboring valley of the Euphrates, where the Persian established his capital at Babylon. Though there are reasons for placing its origin in the eastern part of Iran, we first become acquainted with it as the religion of the Medes. The Magi are distinctly declared by several of the Greek writers to have been a tribe of the Medes; and the fact that after the overthrow of the Medes by Cyrus and their incorporation into the Persian Empire, the Magi continued to fill the priestly offices, indicates that the authority of the Medes in matters of religion was recognized even by their conquerors. All through the period of the rule of the Achæmenidæ in Persia—the family of Cyrus—Zoroasterism, or the religion of the Magi, continued to be the state religion. After the overthrow of the Achæmenidæ by Alexander and the establishment of the Seleucidæ in Persia, Greek influences became dominant at the Persian court, and the power of the Magi was weakened. Their religion continued, however, to be still that of the people, and this was its status also through the subsequent reign of the Parthian dynasty in Persia. With the rise of the Sasanian dynasty, in the Third Century, Zoroasterism again became the state religion of Persia, and under this dynasty it seems to have reached its highest development and its most complete organization.

The Sasanian dynasty was in its turn overthrown by the Arabs under Omar, the decisive battle being fought sometime between 640 and 642 A. D., and eventually Zoroasterism was supplanted even as a popular religion

everywhere in Persia by the more aggressive religion of Mahomet. A few Persians emigrated to India somewhere about the year 720, taking with them their religion and such part of their sacred literature as had escaped the general wreck. The descendants of these refugees are the Parsees, whose principal settlement is at Bombay. The religion of the Parsees is said, however, to be practically monotheistic, though they still adhere to the traditions of their forefathers, exposing their dead to be devoured by vultures rather than to defile with their bodies either earth or fire, and scrupulously attending to all the religious duties and ceremonies enjoined upon them by their great prophet.

THEMISTOCLES

B. C. 520-455

GIVES ATHENS A NAVY AND SAVES GREECE

This celebrated Athenian statesman and leader was born somewhere about the year B. C. 520, shortly after the death of Pisistratus. His father was an Athenian citizen of middling rank and circumstances, but his mother was a woman of Thrace or of Caria. In his youth Themistocles is said to have shown a wayward and willful disposition, an inclination to reckless expenditure, a love of display and a fondness for admiration, which clearly foreshadowed, in the opinion of his biographers, those traits both of nobility and sordidness which distinguished him in his public life.

We first meet with Themistocles at the battle of Marathon, B. C. 490. He and his political rival, Aristides, were among the ten generals who commanded the Athenians on that occasion. Both rendered the cause of Greece an excellent service by exerting their influence with their associate generals to secure for Miltiades the sole command of the army and to leave him free to decide upon the time for giving battle. On this, as on a similar occasion ten years later, they sank their political rivalry, and worked together unselfishly for the best interests of their country.

The victory of Marathon decided a momentous crisis in the affairs of Greece, and it was emphatically a victory for Athens. Single-handed, except for the one thousand Platæans who had joined her army at the last moment,

she had repelled the mighty host of Persia and had saved Greece. Naturally she was elated by her achievement. She felt that it entitled her to a place of the first rank among the Greek states. A glorious future seemed to open before her, and to no one of her citizens did it present itself with greater clearness than to Themistocles. He determined that Athens should derive the full benefit of her opportunity, and he threw himself with his whole soul into the work of guiding her counsels, not, however, as we shall see in the end, from purely patriotic motives, for he labored quite as much for himself as he did for his country. It has been said, and apparently with reason, that the vision which presented itself to the mind of this ambitious and far-seeing leader was Athens become the first State in Greece, and Themistocles the first man in Athens.

The government of Athens at this time was thoroughly democratic. All affairs of state were disposed of in the public assembly, which met at stated short intervals. Here all officers were chosen, all laws were enacted and resolutions adopted by the votes of the people. Any citizen who chose to come forward and who could gain a hearing might advise his fellow-citizens from the "bema," or tribunal, and his influence would depend upon the clearness and force with which he could present his arguments. It was in this public assembly that Themistocles and others who aspired to influence the public policy wielded such power as they had, simply as advisers, and without any prestige derived from constituted authority. The great leaders of Athens, Themistocles and the rest, were private citizens, except when they might choose to be elected to office for some special purpose.

The first great measure upon which Themistocles set

his heart was the increase of the naval power of Athens. He well knew that, although the Persians had been defeated, they were preparing for another and more formidable descent upon Greece, and he had the sagacity to see that a large and well-equipped fleet would be the best protection against them. Fortunately for his policy, soon after the battle of Marathon an old feud between Athens and the island of Ægina, which had been suspended during the invasion of the Persians, broke out afresh. In order to carry on successfully the war which followed, it was necessary that Athens should increase her naval force. In this emergency Themistocles came forward in the public assembly with a proposition which, distasteful though it must have been to a large number of the citizens, he had the persuasiveness to carry through, and which virtually laid the foundation of the future naval supremacy of Athens. There was at this time a large surplus of money in the public treasury, arising from the produce of the valuable silver mines at Laurium. These mines, situated in the mountainous district in the southern part of Attica, belonged to the State, but were farmed out to be worked by individual operators, who paid a royalty for the privilege. It had been recently proposed to distribute this sum of money among the citizens, but Themistocles persuaded them, in view of the necessities of the Æginetan war and the possibility of a renewal of the war with Persia, to sacrifice their private advantage to the public good and to appropriate this money to the building of 200 ships. It is probable that the mass of the citizens were influenced more by the immediate need of a fleet in the war with Ægina than by the prospective danger to be apprehended from Persia. "And thus," as Herodotus says, "the Æginetan war saved Greece by compelling the

Athenians to make themselves a maritime power." Themistocles succeeded about the same time in passing a decree that twenty new ships should be built every year.

Themistocles was not permitted to carry these and other measures without opposition. He was continually and systematically opposed by Aristides. These two eminent men formed a striking contrast with each other. Themistocles was brilliant, energetic, quick to grasp all the circumstances of a complicated situation, and fertile in resources for meeting every difficulty as it presented itself. The power of unassisted nature was never exemplified more strikingly than in him. No complication or embarrassment ever perplexed him, but the right expedient seemed to occur to him intuitively, and without the necessity for the least premeditation. He judged quickly and unerringly, and his course of action often startled even his friends by its boldness. He was a born leader; in a word one of those men who by sheer force of character compel others to follow them. But these transcendent abilities were marred by a total lack of principle. He was unscrupulous in the means he employed for accomplishing his ends, was notoriously corrupt in an age in which few public men were strictly honest, and he too often employed the great power which he wielded with no thought of the state, but solely for enriching himself. He ended a glorious life by years of deep disgrace—a rich man, but an exile, a traitor and a pensioner of the Great King, scheming to undo the very work which had rendered his name illustrious.

A very different man was Aristides. Though inferior to Themistocles in ability, he was incomparably his superior in honesty and integrity. In the administration of public affairs he acted with an eye single to the public good, regardless of party ties and personal friendships.

His uprightness and justice were so universally recognized that he received the surname of the Just. As to the points on which the rivalry of these two great men turned, we have no information. Both men were doubtless equally desirous of promoting the interests of Athens, but they differed as to the means. Aristides, with his more stable character, less sanguine than his rival, would naturally be conservative; he doubtless had misgivings as to the outcome of the new departure advocated by Themistocles, and perhaps also he distrusted the man as well as his measures. But whatever may have been the precise points on which they differed, so violent was the animosity with which they frequently opposed each other, that Aristides is reported to have said, "If the Athenians were wise they would throw us both into the Barathrum." After three or four years of this bitter rivalry the two chiefs appealed to the ostracism, and Aristides was banished. The ostracism, it may be well to explain here, was a peculiar Athenian institution—a sort of political safety-valve—by means of which a citizen who was considered dangerous to the State or who had for any other reason become unpopular, might be exiled for a term of years, without any specific charge having been preferred against him. The ballots used were shells, whence the name "ostracism," from *ostrakon*, a *potsherd*. There is a story that when the voting between Themistocles and Aristides was in progress, the latter was approached by an unlettered countryman to whom he was not known, and was asked to write "Aristides" on the shell which was handed him, which he did. "And what," he asked, as he handed back the shell, "has Aristides done, that you wish him banished?" "Nothing," was the reply, "but I am tired of always hearing him called the Just."

Themistocles was now left in undisputed control in

Athens. No particulars of his administration of affairs have come down to us; but we may be certain that his policy of strengthening the naval power of Athens was never lost sight of, and that he kept his eye continually upon Persia. What he learned of the Persian affairs, through his emissaries and from other sources, may be briefly stated.

The disaster at Marathon stimulated Darius to make a still more strenuous effort to conquer the insolent Greeks. Three years were spent by Darius in busy preparations throughout the whole of his vast empire. In the fourth year occurred a revolt of the Egyptians, and before he could suppress this revolt Darius died. His son, Xerxes, who succeeded him, seems not to have inherited his antipathy for the Greeks; but Xerxes was surrounded by advisers who, from various motives, urged him to prosecute his father's plans, and after two or three years of intermission the preparations for an expedition against Greece were resumed on a still more extensive scale.

At the end of the year B. C. 481 the preparations of Xerxes were completed, and he assembled his mighty host at Sardis. Troops had been collected from all parts of the Persian Empire. Forty-six nations, it is said, were represented in his land force. As for their numbers, they were reckoned, not by thousands, but by tens of thousands. We are told by Herodotus, who doubtless had excellent means of information, and who never wilfully exaggerates, that Xerxes led across the Hellespont into Europe an army of over two and a half millions of fighting men, and that the camp-followers were equally numerous. The fleet of Xerxes was furnished by the Phœnicians and Ionians, and other maritime nations subject to Persia, and is said to have contained 1,207 triremes and 3,000 smaller vessels.

The news of the assembling of this mighty army spread consternation throughout Greece. Opinions were divided as to what should be done in so great an emergency. When Xerxes sent his heralds into Greece to demand "fire and water" in token of submission, according to the Persian custom, the greater number of the States, believing resistance hopeless, were ready to yield to the demand; but Athens and Sparta displayed a quite different spirit. On the invitation of these States a congress of States assembled at Corinth, and here the most strenuous efforts were made to heal the numerous petty jealousies of the Greek States, and to unite them against the common enemy, but without success. In these negotiations Themistocles was the leading spirit. The most that was accomplished was the establishment of a firm alliance between Athens and Sparta, with the addition of Corinth and two or three other smaller States. The leadership was unanimously conferred upon Sparta, both of the land and of the naval force, the latter provision being due to the politic concession of Themistocles, for the naval command seemed rightfully to belong to Athens, inasmuch as nearly two-thirds of the ships in the combined fleet would be hers.

Even the oracle of Delphi was affected by the prevailing depression. The Athenians and Spartans sent envoys to consult this famous oracle, and the response was as gloomy as could well be conceived. "Wretched men, why sit ye there? Quit your land and city and flee afar. . . . . Fire and sword, in the train of the Syrian chariot, shall overwhelm you. . . . Get away from the sanctuary with your souls steeped in sorrow." The envoys were struck dumb by so terrific a response, and they durst not carry it back to Athens. But they were advised by an influential Delphian to provide them-

selves with the marks of the humblest supplication and in this guise to approach the oracle a second time. And now the response was a trifle more hopeful. Athene —the protecting goddess of Athens—could not, indeed, propitiate Zeus, but this assurance was given: "When everything else in the land of Cecrops shall be taken, Zeus grants to Athene that the wooden wall alone shall remain unconquered. . . . O! divine Salamis, thou shalt destroy the children of women, either at the seed-time or at the harvest."

Those who believe that even the shrine of Delphi was not beyond the reach of influence, other than the divine inflatus of Apollo, have seen in this celebrated response the hand of Themistocles. Certain it is that he made an effective use of it. When the response was carried to Athens, a question arose as to the meaning of the "wooden wall." Some thought that the reference was to the Acropolis—that they were directed to fortify this almost inaccessible eminence with a palisade. The greater number took the view of Themistocles—that the reference was to the ships of the fleet. To meet the objection that the response seemed to forbode disaster, Themistocles pointed out that those destined to slaughter must be the enemy and not Greeks, else Salamis would have been called "wretched" rather than "divine." The resolution was therefore taken that, if worse came to worst, the population of Athens should leave the city and seek the protection of the ships.

We may pass over the incidents of the march of the Persians into Greece—the two disastrous storms which, providentially for the Greeks, destroyed many of the Persian ships; the sea-fight at Artemisium, in which the Greek fleet held its own with the Persian, until obliged to retire before superior numbers; the famous defense

of Thermopylæ by Leonidas and his his 300 Spartans—and come direct to the closing scene of the war at Salamis.

The Greek fleet, numbering 366 ships, of which 200 belonged to Athens, finding itself unable to cope with the Persian fleet on the open sea, withdrew to the small island of Salamis, near Athens, on its way to Trœzen. Thermopylæ had been passed by the Persians, and they were marching, unopposed, upon Attica. At the urgent request of Themistocles, the Spartan Admiral, Eurybiades, consented to remain for a few days at Salamis, that the ships might be used for transporting the Athenians to a place of safety. The greater number were taken to Trœzen and Ægina, where they met with a warm reception; but many could be induced to proceed no farther than Salamis.

When the Persian reached Athens he found only the buildings of a deserted city. At about the same time the Persian fleet arrived and took up its station in the Bay of Phalerum.

Xerxes went down to inspect his fleet, and held a council of war as to the expediency of an immediate attack upon the Greeks. The Kings of Sidon and Tyre, together with the other assembled potentates, probably with a view of flattering Xerxes, were for an immediate battle. One voice alone broke the unanimity of the meeting. Artemisia, Queen of Harlicarnassus, in Caria, deprecated the policy of fighting in the narrow strait of Salamis, where the numerous force of Xerxes would be an incumbrance rather than a help. She urged that if the army were marched toward Peloponnesus, the Peloponnesian ships would withdraw from the Grecian fleet, in order to protect their own homes. But though she was listened to with respect, her arguments were overruled, and Xerxes issued orders for the attack to begin on the following morning.

At the same time the army was commanded to march toward Peloponnesus.

At this critical juncture dissension reigned in the Grecian fleet. In a council of war which had been summoned by Eurybiades, Themistocles urged the assembled chiefs to remain at Salamis and give battle to the Persians in the narrow strait, where the superior numbers of the Persians would be of less consequence. But the Peloponnesian commanders were strongly opposed to this plan, their opinion being that the fleet should be taken to the Isthmus of Corinth, and be used in support of the land force, which was engaged in fortifying the isthmus. After a stormy debate the council broke up, having reached a decision to withdraw from Salamis, though the lateness of the hour compelled them to remain until the following morning.

It was with gloomy forebodings that Themistocles retired from the council. The more he reflected on the decision of the council, the more he became convinced that a mistake was about to be made. At a late hour of the night he proceeded to the ship of Eurybiades, where, urging with more freedom, and in greater detail than he had done in the council, the arguments against the removal of the fleet, he succeeded in persuading Eurybiades to convoke another assembly. The commanders, angry at the reopening of a discussion which they had thought closed, were in no mood to be reasonable. The case was desperate, and Themistocles no longer confined himself to argument. He reminded the assembly that 200 of the ships in the fleet belonged to Athens, and he virtually threatened, in case his advice was not followed, to desert the cause of Greece altogether and to seek, with his countrymen, new homes in some distant land. This menace silenced his opponents. Eurybiades, half convinced before, hesitated

no longer; without taking a vote, he issued orders for the fleet to remain and to fight at Salamis.

The next day saw the Greeks preparing, however reluctantly, for the coming engagement. But now messengers began coming in from Corinth, representing the distress and anxiety of those who were engaged in defending the isthmus, and urging the assistance of the fleet. The very men who had objected to the second council now clamored for a third. It met and was characterized by the same turbulent dissensions as the former councils. Themistocles perceiving that the decision of the council would be against him, now had resort to one of those bold measures which he knew how to adopt in time of need. Among his slaves was an Asiatic Greek, a man of address and ability and perfectly acquainted with the Persian tongue. Themistocles secretly dispatched this man with a message to Xerxes, representing the dissensions which prevailed in the Greek fleet, and how easy it would be to surround and vanquish an armament both small and disunited. The slave was instructed particularly to impress upon Xerxes that Themistocles was really at heart favorable to the Persian cause; and, indeed, there is reason to suspect that Themistocles was not now actuated wholly by a patriotic motive, but had an eye to his own future standing with the Persian, in case of the defeat of his countrymen. However this may be, it appears that Xerxes regarded the message as a friendly one, and was confirmed in his resolution to begin the attack without delay.

Meanwhile the debate among the Greeks continued. Themistocles had used every art to protract it and it was long after nightfall before the council broke up, with the understanding that the debate should be resumed at daybreak.

Before the abandonment of Athens Themistocles had

obtained the passage of a decree recalling all Athenian citizens who were in banishment, and naming particularly his old rival Aristides. It was from Aristides himself, who joined the Athenian fleet in the midst of these discussions, that he first learned of the success of his stratagem. Aristides announced that the whole Persian fleet was closing in upon the Greeks, and that it was only by favor of the darkness that his own vessel had been able to elude them, and the news was soon after confirmed by a Tean ship which had deserted from the enemy.

Thus did Themistocles, despite the most violent opposition, decide the place at which the Greek fleet should match its weakness with the strength of the Persian. The result of the engagement fully justified the wisdom of his choice. As he had anticipated, the numbers of the Persian ships, far from adding to their strength, proved a source of weakness. Few particulars of the battle of Salamis have come down to us, but the main fact stands out prominently that almost from the first determined onset of the Greeks the Persians were thrown into confusion. They neither acted in concert, nor had they space in which to manœuver, and the confusion was augmented by the mistrust with which the motley nations composing the Persian armament regarded one another. The number of ships destroyed and sunk is stated at forty on the side of the Greeks and 200 on that of the Persians.

Notwithstanding this signal defeat and loss, the Persian fleet was still formidable in number, while their land force had suffered hardly any loss. The Greeks themselves did not regard the battle as decisive, and they prepared to renew the combat. But they were saved from this necessity by the pusillanimity of Xerxes. The rage and vexation with which he had witnessed the destruction of his fleet—for Xerxes had himself been an eye-witness of

the battle, seated on a lofty throne which he had caused to be erected on one of the projecting declivities of Mount Ægalecs, opposite Salamis—soon gave way to apprehension for his personal safety. Nor were his fears lessened by a second message which he received from the wily Themistocles to the effect that the Greeks had in mind to send their fleet to break down the bridge over the Hellespont, but that he, Themistocles, was restraining them. Xerxes no longer hesitated. He ordered the remnant of his fleet to return at once to Asia, and having left Mardonius with 300,000 men to complete the conquest of Greece, he himself set out with all haste on his homeward march.

The Greeks pursued the Persian fleet as far as the island of Andros, but without success. They then turned their attention to the punishment of those islands which had sided with Persia; and now we catch a glimpse of the shady side of the character of Themistocles. There is reason to believe that instead of imposing fines on the recreant islands for the benefit of the public treasury, a large part of the money he collected was in the form of bribes to secure his protection and went no farther than his own pocket.

All Greece now resounded with the praises of Themistocles. The deliverance just effected was universally ascribed to his foresight and conduct; and when the Grecian commanders met in the Temple of Neptune on the Isthmus of Corinth, to award the palm of individual merit, though no one was generous enough to resign the first place to another, the most were willing to award the second place to Themistocles. Still higher honors awaited him from Sparta, by no means prone to judge favorably of Athenian merit. He was invited thither, according to Plutarch, to be honored. The Spartans gave him a chaplet of olive leaves—the same reward they had bestowed on their own admiral. They added a chariot, and to distin-

guish him above all other foreigners who had ever entered Sparta, they sent an escort of 300 knights to accompany him on his return as far as Tegea.

In the year following the battle of Salamis, Mardonius with his 300,000 Persians was defeated by the Spartans under Pausanias in the decisive battle of Platæa, and Greece was at last and finally relieved from the incubus which had for so many years weighed upon her.

The Athenians now returned to their desolated city, and began to rebuild it on a greater scale than before and to fortify it with a wall. Several of the States which dreaded the growing maritime power of Athens, and especially Ægina, beheld her rising fortifications with dismay. They sought to inspire the Lacedæmonians with their own fears and to induce them to arrest the work. But though Sparta was herself also distrustful of Athens, she could not well interfere by force to prevent a friendly city from exercising a right which belonged to every free State. Accordingly she assumed the hypocritical character of an adviser and counselor. She represented to Athens the danger which might arise in case of another Persian invasion from the existence in Greece of walled towns in which the enemy might fortify himself, and she urged Athens not merely herself to desist from building a wall, but to help to demolish those which already existed in other towns.

The object of this proposal was too transparent to deceive so acute a statesman as Themistocles. But Athens was not yet in a position to incur the danger of openly rejecting it. He, therefore, advised the Athenians to dismiss the Spartan envoys with the assurance that they would send ambassadors to Sparta to explain their views. He then caused himself to be elected one of these ambassadors, together with two others, of whom one was Aristides, and at once set out for Sparta, directing his colleagues to

linger behind as long as possible. On arriving at Sparta the absence of his colleagues, at which he affected to be greatly surprised, afforded him an excuse for not at once demanding an audience of the authorities. During the time thus gained the whole population of Athens, of both sexes and of all ages, worked night and day upon the wall, which, when the loitering ambassadors finally arrived in Sparta, was already high enough to afford a tolerable defense. Meanwhile the suspicions of the Spartans had been more than once aroused by messages from the Æginetans respecting the progress of the walls. But Themistocles positively denied their statements, and urged the Spartans to send messengers of their own to Athens to learn the true condition of affairs; at the same time he privately sent instructions to Athens to retain the messengers, as hostages for himself and his colleagues. There was now no longer any motive for concealment. Themistocles threw off the mask and openly avowed the progress of the works, and declared that Athens henceforward would be her own mistress and would consult her own interests. As the works were too far advanced now to be easily taken Sparta was obliged to acquiesce, and the works were completed without further hindrance.

Themistocles now resumed his favorite project of making Athens the greatest maritime power in Greece. It was necessary to this end that she should have a fine harbor, as well as ships. The open roadstead of Phalerum was unsuited to this purpose. Already he had persuaded his countrymen to improve the natural basin of the Piræus; but the works begun had been destroyed by the Persians. He now resumed this scheme and on a more magnificent scale. This partly artificial harbor was surrounded with a wall as large as that of the city itself and of a much greater height, and by two long walls it was connected with

the city, which was three miles distant from it. The design in building the walls of the Piræus of extra height was that in time of siege they might be defended by the boys and old men. It seems, however, to have been found impracticable to carry out fully the magnificent project of Themistocles. The walls rose only to the height of about sixty feet, or half of the intended height; but even thus they formed a splendid monument to their projector.

Themistocles becomes henceforward less prominent in Athenian politics, for he is no longer the sole director of affairs. Aristides, his old rival, has recovered fully the esteem and confidence of the Athenians, and renders eminent service, particularly as commander of the fleet. He has abandoned his former hostility to Themistocles, and the two usually work together harmoniously. But in Cimon and Alcmæon, Themistocles has two violent and able opponents, though these, too, are working in their own way to build up and consolidate the great maritime power of Athens of which he had laid the foundation. The causes which contributed to the downfall of Themistocles appear to have been various, and they have never been very clearly ascertained. Foremost among them seems to have been the offence which he gave the Athenians by his ostentation and vanity. He was continually boasting of his services to the State; and the immense wealth which he took no pains to conceal, had notoriously been amassed by dishonest means—by the barter of his services in cases where the interest of the State had been made quite subordinate to his own. Furthermore, the Spartans never forgave him for the trick he had played upon them in the matter of the wall, and their influence at Athens was directed steadily against him. The effect of the various influences which were brought against him was to embitter factional

strife in Athens to such an extent that it was found necessary to resort to the ostracism, and Themistocles was banished for a term of years (B. C. 471).

Themistocles retired to Argos, and here he had remained for four or five years, when the Lacedæmonians discovered evidence of a treasonable correspondence between him and Pausanias, and called upon the Athenians to prosecute their great statesman before a synod of the allies assembled at Sparta. To escape arrest and trial, which in the present excited state of the public mind, consequent on the discovery of the treason of Pausanias, would almost certainly have resulted in his condemnation and death, Themistocles fled from Argos to Corcyra. The Corcyreans, however willing, were unable to shelter him from the united power of Athens and Sparta, and he crossed over to the opposite shore of Epirus. The Molossians, the most powerful people of this coast, were now ruled over by a King named Admetus, whom Themistocles in the day of his power had thwarted in a suit before the Athenians, and had added insult to disappointment. Themistocles now took the desperate resolution of throwing himself upon the mercy of his personal enemy. Fortunately the King was absent when he arrived a suppliant at his gate, and the Queen of Admetus, whose womanly compassion stifled all feeling of resentment, received him kindly, and instructed him how to act in order to disarm the resentment of her husband and to secure his protection. When the King returned he found Themistocles seated at his hearth holding the young Prince, whom the Queen had placed in his hands. The claims of hospitality are sacred among all nations. The King was touched; he raised the suppliant with assurance of protection, which he fulfilled when the Athenian and Spartan commissioners followed

the fugitive to his mansion, by refusing to surrender his guest. King Admetus afterward furnished Themistocles with the means of effecting his escape to Persia.

Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, was now upon the throne of Persia, and to him Themistocles hastened to announce himself by a letter, in which he claimed a reward for his past services in favoring the escape of Xerxes, and promised to effect much for the interest of Persia, if a year were given him for perfecting his plans. The King welcomed the arrival of his illustrious guest and readily granted him the requested delay. In the course of the year Themistocles had learned so much of the Persian language and customs as to be able to communicate personally with the King, and to acquire his confidence. No Greek, says Thucydides, had ever before attained such a commanding influence and position at the Persian court. His ingenuity was now displayed in laying out schemes for the subjugation of Greece to Persia, which were eminently captivating to the monarch, who rewarded him with a Persian wife and large presents, sending him down to Magnesia, near the Ionian coast. The revenues of the district round that town were assigned to him for bread; those of the neighboring seaport of Mylus for articles of condiment, and those of Lampsacus for wine. This was the Persian way of assigning revenues. Though we have no means of determining the amount of the income thus received by Themistocles, it was doubtless princely. How long his residence at Magnesia lasted we do not know. It was here that he died of sickness, sometime between the years B. C. 460 and 447, at the age of sixty-five, without having accomplished any of those plans which he had concerted with the Persian King.

It is unnecessary to add to what has already been said of the character of Themistocles. Nor are comments

needed on the baseness of his conduct in the closing years of his life. The spectacle is one of the most painful in the pages of history. It is said that near his end he showed some signs of remorse, and that he requested to have his remains secretly conveyed to Attica. In later years a tomb was pointed out within the Piræus, which was generally believed to be that of Themistocles. His descendants continued in the time of Plutarch to enjoy some privileges in Magnesia, but neither they nor his posterity at Athens ever revived the luster of his name.

PERICLES

B. C. 495-429

THE INTELLECTUAL SUPREMACY OF ATHENS

The public life of Pericles, the great statesman of Athens, whose name is inseparably connected with the most intellectual period in the history, not merely of his own, but of any country, began about the time when Themistocles was ostracised and Aristides was passing from the stage of Athenian politics. Pericles must have been then quite young, since he maintained a position of great influence and afterward of unrivaled control in Athens for the long period of nearly forty years.

In politics Pericles was the successor of Themistocles, adopting his broad views and espousing the cause of the democracy; but in character he more nearly resembled Aristides. Through the whole of his long career his probity in money matters was never assailed successfully. He entered upon public life with a mind stored with the best philosophy which the age afforded, and with the additional advantage of an eloquence such, we are told, as no one before had either heard or conceived. One drawback, as Plutarch tells us, rendered him at first timid in appearing before the popular Assembly, and this was that his countenance strongly resembled that of Pisistratus, which led him to dread being ostracised.

Before taking up the story of Pericles, it will be well to go back a little way in the history of Athens.

One of the defensive measures adopted by the Greeks against the Persians, after the final withdrawal of the lat-

ter from Greece in B. C. 479, was the formation of a league consisting of the Ionian Islands and some other maritime States, which came to be known as the "Confederacy of Delos," from its being arranged that the allies belonging to it should meet periodically in the Temple of Apollo and Artemis on that island. Aristides, who at this time commanded the Athenian fleet, had been active in forming the League, and it was arranged that Athens, as the leading maritime power, should be recognized as its head. Each State was assessed in a certain contribution either of money or ships, as proposed by the Athenians and accepted by the assembled delegates. The common treasury was at Delos.

Soon after the formation of this League Aristides was succeeded in the command of the Athenian fleet by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the hero of Marathon. During the ensuing four or five years several successes against the Persians, on the coast of Thrace and of Asia, were obtained by the allied fleet under Cimon, the most notable being the defeat (B. C. 466) of a Persian fleet of 200 vessels near the mouth of the river Eurymedon, in Pamphilia, and on the same day a land victory over the Persian army which was drawn up on shore to protect the fleet.

These successes of Cimon gained him great credit at Athens. He became the undisputed leader of the aristocratic party of Athens, and it was against him that Pericles found himself pitted upon his first entrance into public life. No two persons could have been more unlike than they in character and disposition. Though leaders of the Aristocrats, Cimon was in his intercourse with the people the much more democratic of the two. He was generous, affable, magnificent, and of exceedingly popular manners. He employed the vast wealth acquired in his expeditions in adorning Athens and gratifying his fellow citizens. He

kept open house for such of his neighbors as were in want, and when he appeared in public he was attended by well-dressed slaves who were directed to exchange their garments for the threadbare clothing of needy citizens. But he was untaught in music or letters, and possessed the Spartan aversion to rhetoric and philosophy. Pericles, on the other hand, was inclined to be distant and reserved in his demeanor. He was indefatigable in his attention to public business, but he went little into society and made no special effort to render himself popular with his fellow-citizens. His delight was in the converse of intellectual persons—of Anaxagoras, from whom he acquired a tinge of physical philosophy, that armed him against many of the popular superstitions of the day; of Zeno and the musician, Damon, and above all, later in life, the engaging and cultivated Aspasia. In the management of his household affairs, while not parsimonious, he was rigidly economical, the produce of his lands being all sold and his house being supplied by purchase in the market.

Such were the two leaders who now found themselves opposed to each other, one as the leader of the Aristocratic or Conservative, and the other of the expanding and aggressive Democratical party.

The founding of the Athenian democracy has been described in the article on Solon. Clisthenes, after the expulsion of the Pisistratids from Athens, some thirty years before the time we are now considering, had rendered the Athenian constitution still more democratic by removing the restriction which excluded the fourth and poorest class of the citizens from the archonship and other magistracies, and rendering every Athenian eligible to any and every office in the State. Still, it is probable that the advantage thus secured by the people was more nominal than real, for it can hardly be supposed that so

long as the offices were filled by election, a poor and obscure citizen stood a chance of attaining to any position of importance in the government. But about this time another change was introduced—whether by Pericles or not, is uncertain—whereby the Archons were chosen by lot instead of by vote, though under restrictions such that no unworthy man could compete for the high honor successfully.

From this and other indications it is evident that the Democratic sentiment in Athens was on the increase. The people were demanding and were obtaining a larger share in the government, and the exclusive power of the high-born and wealthy was on the wane. The splendid achievements of the fleet, which was looked upon as a creation of the people, fostered this sentiment. Even the poorest citizen of Athens was stimulated by that increase in the power of his city, to which he had himself directly contributed. The old and unprogressive Aristocracy was looked upon by the great mass of the people as a relic of by-gone days—a hindrance to the growth of the new Athens which they were creating. Pericles appeared as the champion of this aggressive popular party. The first public measure with which his name is connected was aimed—and successfully—at the very stronghold of the Aristocracy—the Senate of the Areopagus. The attack upon this institution was accompanied with other important occurrences, which it is necessary now to relate.

The Island of Thasos, one of the members of the Confederacy of Delos, disaffected by the growing power of Athens, revolted against her authority, and Cimon was sent in B. C. 465 to restore the island to its duty. The Thasians secretly applied to Sparta to make a diversion in their favor by invading Attica; and though the Spartans were still ostensibly allied with Athens, they were base

enough to comply with this request. Their intended treachery was, however, prevented by a terrible calamity. In the year B. C. 464 their capital was laid in ruins by an earthquake, by which were killed 20,000 of the citizens, besides a large body of their chosen youth, who were engaged in a building in their gymnastic exercises. The earthquake was immediately followed by a revolt of the Helots, who, after having been repulsed in an attempt to take Sparta, retired into Messenia, and fortified themselves upon Mount Ithome.

Unsuccessful in their attempts to take this stronghold, the Spartans called for aid upon some of their allies, among the rest upon the Athenians.

The popular sentiment at Athens was strongly against the Spartans, and it was with great difficulty that Cimon prevailed upon the Athenians to send to their assistance a body of 4,000 heavy-armed infantry, of which he himself took command. This little expedition, besides leading to other important consequences, was the immediate cause of the downfall of Cimon, who had already begun to lose his popularity at Athens, for not having conducted the affair of Thasos with his usual brilliancy. The Athenians failed to take Ithome, as had been expected of them from their acknowledged superiority in attacking fortified places, and the Spartans, suspecting treachery, curtly informed them that they were no longer needed, and sent them home.

The insult thus offered to Athens was charged directly to Cimon, as the proposer of the expedition. Pericles took advantage of the popular resentment against him and his party to bring forward the measure, already mentioned, directed against the Senate of the Areopagus. This ancient body, made up of ex-Archons and therefore entirely aristocratic, was a sort of Supreme Court in Athens. Be-

sides its judicial functions, it exercised a general censorship over the lives and occupations of the citizens. It was charged that the Areopagus was open to corrupt influences, whether rightly or wrongly. At any rate, it had become hateful to the people, and they determined to clip its authority. Pericles led the attack upon it. The fight was bitter and stormy; but it ended in a democratic victory. The Areopagus, stripped of all its judicial authority, except in certain trival cases, was left with but a shadow of its former influence and power.

In the violence of party feeling resulting from this struggle, resort was had to ostracism, and Cimon was condemned to a ten years' banishment.

Pericles had now fairly entered upon his long administration of the affairs of Athens. The effect of his accession to power soon became apparent in the foreign relations of the city. He had succeeded to the political principles of Themistocles. He aimed to render Athens the leading power in Greece. Already the Confederacy of Delos had made her supreme upon the sea. Pericles now took measures to increase her influence also upon the land. In two ways this object might be attained; first, by alliances with other states, and, second, by enlarging the territories of Athens by means of colonies. Both measures were adopted. Sparta was the only rival whom Athens had to fear. In the state of feeling aroused among the Athenians by the insult offered them by Sparta, Pericles easily persuaded them to renounce their alliance with that state and to join themselves to her bitterest enemies. Argos had taken advantage of the embarrassment caused Sparta by the revolt of the Helots to reassert actively her old claim to leadership in Peloponnesus, and with Argos an alliance was now formed by Athens, which was joined also by the Thessalians. Athens also contracted an alliance

with the little state of Megara, on the isthmus of Corinth, and thus secured control of the entrance to Peloponnesus.

The immediate consequence of these measures was a war with the Æginetans, who had for some time been watching the increasing power of their old rival with jealousy and fear. But though the Æginetans received some aid from Corinth and some small states of Peloponnesus, the Spartans, hampered by their own difficulties, rendered them no assistance, and the Athenians were victorious. They captured the fleet of Ægina, and landing a large force on the island, laid siege to the capital.

About this time (B. C. 458-457) the Athenians, chiefly through the advice of Pericles, began the construction of the "long walls," which connected Athens with the ports of the Piræus and Phalerum. This work was in continuation of the plan of fortification by which Themistocles had sought to render the maritime power of Athens wholly unassailable, and it was doubtless suggested at this time by the anticipation that Sparta, though temporarily weakened by her domestic troubles, would ultimately join the confederacy which was arrayed against Athens. The building of these walls was a gigantic undertaking. That which led to Phalerum was four miles in length, and that to the Piræus was four and a half miles long. This popular measure was violently opposed by the aristocratic party, but without success.

The next important event to be noted is the battle of Tanagra. The Spartans, now thoroughly alarmed by the obvious designs of Athens, seized upon a pretext to send an armed force into Bœotia, which was employed in restoring the power of the Thebans, who had lost much of their influence through the attitude taken by Thebes in the Persian war. Some members of the aristocratic party in Athens took the occasion traitorously to send to the Spar-

PERICLES ADDRESSING THE ATHENIANS

tans a request to march upon Athens and stop the work upon the long walls. The Spartans listened to the proposal, and took up a position at Tanagra, on the border of Attica. The Athenians suspected treachery, and considered it high time to act. The battle of Tanagra was the consequence. The small army of the Athenians was led by Pericles in person. The battle was a hotly contested one, and the advantage rested finally with the Spartans; still, their success was not great enough to warrant them in invading Attica, but it allowed them to retire unmolested into Peloponnesus.

Previously to the engagement at Tanagra the ostracised Cimon presented himself before the Athenian army, and begged to be allowed to fight in the ranks, as a volunteer. His request was not granted; but the incident created so strong a sentiment in his favor, that soon after this his ostracism was revoked, the decree for this purpose being proposed by Pericles himself.

Within two months after the battle of Tanagra the Athenians marched into Bœotia and reversed all of the arrangements of the Spartans, driving out the aristocrats from Thebes, and establishing there a democratic government. For a time—a short time only—the power of Athens was supreme from the gulf of Corinth to the northern border of Thessaly. The building of the long walls was completed. The conquest of Ægina was effected, and this island became a dependency of Athens.

About this time occurred a cessation of hostilities with Persia. Ever since the battle of Salamis a war with Persia had been carried on by Athens, as the head of the Confederacy of Delos, for the most part of the time in a desultory manner, and not always with complete success. The last important incident of the war was the sending of an expedition, consisting of 200 ships, to Cyprus, which

proved fatal to its leader, Cimon, who died, either of disease or of a wound, during the progress of the siege of a town on the island. His successor in command gained a great victory over the Persian fleet; and a pacification with Persia followed, which is sometimes called, though improperly, "the peace of Cimon."

In the course of the war with Persia great changes were gradually effected in the constitution of the Confederacy of Delos, all of which strengthened the hands of Athens. Many of the smaller islands belonging to the league commuted their required contribution of ships into a payment of money. Even the custody of the funds of the league was transferred from the island of Delos to Athens—a change which marked the complete subjugation of the confederates of Athens, and one important consequence of which will be seen presently. At the time of the close of the war with Persia three states only—Chios, Lesbos, and Samos—still retained their independence. The rest had become tributary to Athens, forming practically parts of an Athenian Empire to the growth of which their own supineness had contributed. Though the purpose for which the league had been formed disappeared with the conclusion of peace with Persia, the contributions were still levied regularly—were even increased in amount—and these levies went into the treasury of Athens.

Athens now stood at the height of her political supremacy. But the land portion of her Empire quickly crumbled into pieces. First came a revolution in Bœotia, which deprived her of her ascendency in that country. Then followed in quick succession a revolt in the island of Eubœa and another in Megara. Pericles himself led an army to quell the Eubœan revolt; but he was quickly called home to repel a threatened invasion of Attica itself by the Spartans, led by their youthful King, Plestonax. The

Spartans and their allies actually advanced as far as Eleusis, and it is said that their further advance was arrested only by Pericles bribing the Spartan King and his adviser. Pericles now returned to Eubœa, which he conquered and apportioned among Athenian colonists. But this was the only revolted territory which was recovered. On all sides hostility to Athens was displaying itself, of which Sparta was the moving spirit. In this condition of affairs the Athenians were induced (in B. C. 445) to conclude with Sparta a truce of thirty years. By the terms of this treaty the Athenians abandoned all the acquisitions which they had made in Peloponnesus, and left Megara to be included among the Spartan allies.

The political Empire of Athens having become thus seriously impaired, Pericles now set to work purposely and systematically to rear for her an Empire of a different character. He resolved to adorn Athens with magnificent buildings and with other works of art, befitting her station as an imperial city, and calculated by their splendor to impose upon the imaginations of her subjects and allies, and to convey the impression of a greater power than really she possessed. And he not only accomplished this design, but aided by talent of extraordinary originality and brilliancy, he succeeded in an incredibly short time in enriching Athens with buildings and sculptures which have been the models, as well as the admiration, of all the subsequent ages.

The means by which was accomplished this great work were such as—if the truth must be told, nothing extenuated—can, in these days, hardly be approved as strictly honorable. Pericles simply embezzled the funds belonging to the Confederacy of Delos, the treasury of which, as has before been stated, was now at Athens. There was in this treasury a large surplus, since for some years ex-

penditure for war purposes had almost entirely ceased, and the amount of the annual contributions was about 600 talents, or something like 700,000 dollars. It was with this money that Pericles now set to work to strengthen and adorn the imperial city.

The proposal of Pericles to use this fund for a purpose entirely foreign to that for which it was designed, naturally met with violent opposition from the aristocratic party. Cimon, great leader of this party, was now dead. The party itself was decidedly in the minority. But it found a new and able leader in Thucydides—not the historian, but a member of the same family—who for a time succeeded in opposing a stout resistance to a design which he stigmatized as dishonest and calculated to disgrace Athens in the eyes of Greece. In the violence of party feeling recourse was had to the usual expedient. Thucydides was ostracised, probably about two years after the conclusion of the thirty years' truce with Sparta.

Pericles was now left free to carry out his design. During the fourteen years which elapsed until the breaking out of the long war with Sparta and her allies, his power at Athens was practically absolute. The first great work which he induced the people to undertake was the building of a third, or intermediate wall, running parallel with the first wall to the Piræus, and distant from it about 150 feet. In time the inner sides of these two walls became lined with buildings and booths; and this long, straight street, leading from the town to the port, became a favorite promenade of the Athenians. At the same time the town of the Piræus itself was laid out with new streets, running at right angles with each other. Apparently this was something new in Greece, the towns generally, and Athens itself in particular, being built without any attempt at regularity, their streets being both crooked and narrow.

And, indeed, Athens, notwithstanding the magnificence of its public edifices, was even in its best days one of the most slovenly of cities. Its private dwellings had mostly but a single story, and were without windows looking toward the street; even the thoroughfares were narrow, and the streets were never lighted and there was no attempt at drainage.

But the buildings erected on the Acropolis were the real glory of the Periclean age. This was a nearly rectangular rocky eminence, rising with precipitous sides to a height of about 150 feet, with a flat summit of about 1,000 feet in length from east to west, and 500 feet broad from north to south. It stood nearly at the center of the city, as it was enclosed by the walls of Themistocles. The Acropolis had originally been the whole of Athens; but in process of time buildings had sprung up around its base, and since the destruction of the city by the Persians no private buildings had been erected upon it. On its eastern slope was the theater of Dionysus, a work begun ten years before the invasion of Greece by Darius, and which occupied 160 years in its completion. It was built in the form of a semicircle, the central part being hollowed out of the rock itself, its stone seats rising in terraces, and it was capable of accommodating the whole population of Athens. The first work of Pericles was a new and smaller theater, called the Odeon, built by the side of the older, and designed for musical and poetical representations at the great Panathenaic solemnity. His next great work was the splendid temple of Athene, or Minerva, called the Parthenon, with all its masterpieces and reliefs. Lastly were erected the costly portals which formed the entrance to the Acropolis, on the western side of the hill, through which the solemn processions on festive days were conducted. Progress was also made in restoring, or reconstructing,

the Erechtheum, or ancient temple of Athene, which had been burnt in the invasion of Xerxes. But the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war seems to have prevented the completion of this work, as well as of the great temple of Demeter (Ceres), at Eleusis, for the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, which work also was projected by Pericles.

Equally memorable with the architecture was the sculpture which adorned the Acropolis. There were three statues, all by the hand of Phidias and all of colossal proportions. First there was in the cella of the Parthenon a statue of Athene forty-seven feet high, all the exposed parts of which were of ivory, instead of marble, while the flowing robe and ornaments were of solid gold. There was a second, of bronze, called the Lemnian Athene, and a third, also in bronze, called Athene Promachos, which stood in the open air between the portal of the Acropolis and the Parthenon, and which was visible to navigators approaching Athens from sea.

It is not, of course, to Pericles alone that the glory of these splendid productions of art belongs. While he conceived the project of their creation and found the funds necessary for carrying it out, he would have been powerless without the aid of the great artists who designed and executed them, and who were themselves a product of that same period of expanding and stimulating democracy, which called forth a similar creative genius in oratory, dramatic poetry and philosophical speculation.

Other measures which Pericles at this time adopted for increasing the power and prestige of Athens was the sending out of colonies to the Thracian Chersonese, to Naxos and other islands; but these measures, important at the time, have little interest for us now, and may be dismissed with a bare mention. Nor was the period we are now

engaged upon entirely one of peace for Athens. The most important event in the external history of Athens at this time was the defection of the island of Samos, an important member of the Confederacy of Delos, which had refused to submit to the arbitration of Athens in a quarrel with the Milesians, and to reduce which to submission required the sending of two armaments, at different times, both commanded by Pericles. The successful conclusion of the Samian war was the occasion of a funeral oration by Pericles as a tribute to the Athenians who had perished in the war, and which is described as one of the masterpieces of his oratory.

We are approaching now the close of the career of this greatest of Athenian statesmen. The causes which led to the interruption of the thirty-years' truce and the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war need not be narrated in detail. It will be enough to say that Sparta, who had all along been restive under the rising glory of Athens, availed herself of an occurrence which might be construed into an infraction of the terms of the truce by Athens—an interference by Athens in an affair between Corinth and the island of Corcyra—to listen to complaints which were lodged with her against Athens, and finally to decide upon a declaration of war. Before taking this step, however, she sent a delegation to Athens, designed insidiously to undermine the power of Pericles. Pericles was connected on his mother's side with the family of the Alcmæonids, who had long been under a ban in Greece, because of the sacrilege, committed nearly two centuries before this time by their ancestor Megacles, who had caused the adherents of Cylon to be slaughtered in the temple of Athene, on the Acropolis at Athens. The Spartans now demanded of the Athenians that they should deliver themselves from this "abomination." They can

hardly have expected that Athens would consent to banish her great statesman, but they knew that at any rate the demand would afford opportunity for his enemies to vent their spite against him and a pretext for holding him up as the cause of the impending war.

To this extent their scheme was successful, for Pericles, despite the great work which he had done and was doing for Athens, had many enemies, who now, emboldened by the backing of Sparta, came forward to make charges against him. They assailed him through his private connections, and even attacked his established reputation for probity on a flimsy charge of peculation. The relations of the beautiful and cultured Aspasia with Pericles are fully treated of in another place in these volumes.* The philosopher Anaxagoras was another intimate of Pericles. Both of these dear friends of Pericles were indicted by the comic poet Hermippus on a charge of impiety, and were dragged before the Athenian judicial tribunal. Anaxagoras prudently fled from Athens and thus probably escaped a fate which later overtook the venerable Socrates. But Aspasia appeared before the judges, and Pericles conducted her defence. It is said that on this occasion the cold and somewhat haughty statesman was seen for the first time to shed tears. His appeal to the judges was successful; Aspasia was acquitted. But another trial awaited him. A charge was brought against the artist Phidias of having embezzled some of the gold intended to adorn the statue of Athene, Pericles himself being implicated in the charge. Fortunately the gold was so affixed to the statue that it could be removed and weighed, so that the truth of the charge was easily disproved. But Phidias was not so fortunate with respect to another charge—that of impiety, because

*Famous Women of the World.

he had introduced among the figures which adorned the shield of Athene portraits of himself and Pericles. Phidias was thrown into prison, where he died before the day set for his trial.

After some preliminary hostilities between the Thebans and Platæans, in which Athens became involved, the great war, which was to last for thirty years and was to end in the complete humiliation of Athens, was at length fairly begun by the invasion of Attica by the Spartans and their allies, led by the Spartan King Archidamus, in the early part of the summer of the year B. C. 431. Upon the approach of the Spartan army, which, with the allies included, consisted at the lowest estimate of 60,000 men, the whole population of Attica took refuge, with all their movable effects, within the walls of the city. This was done on the instruction of Pericles, who had determined to act strictly on the defensive, so far as land operations were concerned. Archidamus advanced slowly, ravaging the country through which he passed, in the hope of provoking the Athenians to leave their stronghold and engage in battle, and finally he encamped within sight of the city. But no provocation could induce the Athenians to break away from the orders of Pericles. He, however, soothed their impatience of his defensive plan of campaign by sending a large fleet to ravage the coast of Peloponnesus. Archidamus remained in Attica no longer than until midsummer, when he returned home and disbanded his army. Pericles now issued forth at the head of a considerable army and took vengeance on the Megarans, ravaging their country up to the very gates of the city. Thus ended the first campaign.

Toward the winter Pericles delivered, from a lofty platform erected for the purpose, a funeral oration of

those who had fallen in the war. This speech, or at all events the substance of it, has been preserved by Thucydides, who possibly may have heard it pronounced. It is a valuable monument of eloquence and patriotism, and is particularly interesting from the sketch it contains of the growth of the Athenian Constitution, and because in it Pericles also gives an exposition of what had been his own policy. Plato states that this famous oration was written by Aspasia.

In the spring of the next year the Peloponnesians under Archidamus, again invaded Attica. And now a new and more terrible enemy appeared within the very walls of the city. A few days after Archidamus entered Attica a pestilence, or epidemic sickness, suddenly broke out in Athens. It appears that this terrible disorder had been raging for some time around the shores of the Mediterranean, having been brought originally, it was thought, through Egypt from Ethiopia. The crowded and doubtless filthy state of Athens rendered the epidemic—which is now believed from descriptions of its symptoms and effects to have been an eruptive typhoid fever—particularly virulent. The progress of the disease was as rapid and destructive as its appearance had been sudden. No treatment or remedy appeared to produce any beneficial effect, and the physicians, while trying in vain their customary means, soon ended by catching the malady themselves and perishing. Every man attacked by the disease, we are told, at once lost courage, and lay down to die without the least attempt to seek for any preservatives. And though at first friends and relatives lent their aid to tend the sick with the usual family sympathies, yet so terrible was the number of these attendants who perished "like sheep" from such contact, that at length no man would expose himself, and the sick

were left to perish unattended and helpless. The dead and the dying, it has been said by Thucydides, who was an eye-witness, lay piled upon one another, not merely in the public roads, but even in the temples. The numerous bodies thus unburied were in such condition that the dogs which meddled with them died in consequence, and no vultures or other birds of prey would touch them. Those bodies which escaped entire neglect were burnt or buried without the customary mourning and with unseemly carelessness. In some cases the bearers of a body, passing a funeral pile on which another body was burning, would put their own there to be burnt also; or, perhaps if the pile was prepared for a body not yet arrived, would deposit their own upon it, set fire to the pile and then depart. From accounts such as these we may form some idea of the depth of the gloom and heartless desperation brought upon the city by this terrible visitation.

The numbers carried off by the pestilence can hardly have been less than one-fourth of the population. Such, at least, was the ascertained percentage among the knights, while among the poor the victims must have been proportionately even more numerous.

In spite of the ravages of the plague, the war was still prosecuted on the same plan as in the preceding year. An expedition was fitted out by the Athenians, of which Pericles took command in person, to divert the attention of Archidamus by ravaging the coast of Peloponnesus. Upon returning from this expedition, Pericles found at Athens a state of so great despondency that he convoked a public assembly, for the purpose of vindicating his conduct and encouraging the citizens to persevere. But though he succeeded in persuading them to prosecute the war with vigor, many of the citizens still continued to

harbor resentment against him. His political enemies took advantage of this feeling to bring against him a charge of peculation, with the object of incapacitating him for holding his office of strategus, or general. He was brought before the judges on this charge and was sentenced to pay a heavy fine; but eventually a strong reaction took place in his favor. He was re-elected general and apparently regained all his former influence.

But he was not long to enjoy this renewal of his popularity. His end was drawing near. Among the victims of the plague were not only many intimate and dear friends, but also several members of his own family, among whom were his sister, and his only two legitimate sons, Xanthippus and Paralus. The latter was an especial favorite with his father, and his loss was a severe blow to him. Pericles was now left without an heir. By Aspasia he had, however, an illegitimate son, who bore his own name. The Athenians, touched by his family desolation, now gave him permission to legitimize this son, though in so doing they were obliged to set aside a law of his own proposal, which debarred of citizenship any one who was not an Athenian on both his father's and his mother's side.

Pericles lived about one year after his reinstatement as General, and seems to have retained his influence so long as his health permitted him to engage in public affairs. But we hear nothing further of him. He fell a victim not of the epidemic, but of a lingering fever, which undermined his strength, as well as his capacity. It is related that during his last moments, when he was lying apparently unconscious, friends who were gathered round his bed were passing in review the acts of his life, and mentioned the nine trophies he had erected at different times for so many victories. He heard what they

said, though they fancied he was past hearing, and interrupted them by remarking: "What you praise in my life belongs partly to good fortune, and is at best common to me with many other generals. But the peculiarity of which I am the most proud, you have not noticed. It is, that no Athenian has ever put on mourning on my account."

The character of Pericles has been variously presented by different writers, both ancient and modern. His long-continued ascendency in Athens and his final almost absolute control of her people sufficiently attest his political sagacity and the persuasive power of his eloquence. That all of his measures were beneficial to Athens may be questioned. That the general result of his long administration redounded to her glory, there is no need to say.

CATO

B. C. 234-149

THE GREAT ROMAN CONSERVATIVE

Marcus Portius Cato, surnamed the *Censor,* from the severity with which he discharged the duties of that office, and known also as *Priscus,* the *Ancient,* and *Major,* the *Elder,* to distinguish him from his great-grandson, who died at Utica, is one of the most strongly-marked characters in Roman history. A countryman and a Plebeian, brought up to habits of strict frugality and naturally of a severe conservative temperament, Cato prided himself in maintaining, at a time when his country was fast giving way to the allurements of Eastern luxury and vice, the simplicity and stern probity of the Italian of the olden times. His long life was spent in an ineffectual effort to stay the tide of innovation, and especially of political corruption which had set in unavoidably as soon as Rome began to enlarge the field of her activity and extend the range of her experience.

Cato was born at Tusculum, B. C. 234. From his father he inherited a small farm in the Sabine country, and here the years of his youth were passed. He soon left his farm, however, to give his services to his country, in the war with Hannibal. At the age of seventeen he joined the army of Fabius Maximus, while it was besieging Capua. Five years later he fought under the same commander at the siege of Tarentum. It is said that after the capture of this town he formed the acquaintance of the Pythagorean Nearchus, by whom he was instructed in the principles and mysteries of that system of philosophy.

After the close of the war Cato returned to his Sabine farm. Of his life here during the next few years we are afforded some interesting glimpses. One of his neighbors was Manius Curius Dentatus, who had frequently triumphed over the Sabines and Samnites and had finally driven Pyrrhus out of Italy. This old Roman Commander was now living in a humble cottage on a small farm, and Cato, who paid him frequent visits, was deeply impressed by his unostentatious life and his frugal management of his little estate. He made his illustrious neighbor his adviser and model. He reduced his own expenses, retrenched all superfluity, and devoted himself with ardor to the economical management of his little farm. In the morning he went to the neighboring towns to plead and defend the causes of those who applied to him for assistance. Then he returned to his fields, where, with a plain cloak over his shoulders in winter and almost naked in summer, he worked with his servants till they had completed their tasks, after which all sat down to the table together, partaking of the same frugal fare and drinking the same wine.

Another neighbor of Cato was L. Valerius Flaccus, a powerful member of the Patrician order. Flaccus became interested in the sturdy young farmer and advocate, and recognizing his exceptional abilties, persuaded him to remove to Rome, promising him his influence and patronage. Accordingly, Cato left his Sabine farm, and took up his residence in the capital. Here he devoted himself to the practice of law, and, though without any advantages save his native talent and the generous aid of Flaccus, he quickly won for himself, by his conspicuous probity and high standard of morality, as well as by fluency and force as a speaker, a place of distinction in the forum.

Cato's forensic success introduced him into public life. In due course of time he filled all the high offices in the gift of the State. As Quæstor he accompanied Scipio Africanus to Africa, and was present at the battle of Zama. Five years later, after having filled the office of Ædile, he was elected Prætor, and the province of Sardinia fell to him by lot. His integrity and justice in the discharge of this office brought him into favorable contrast with those who had preceded him, and added to his rising reputation.

In B. C. 195, at the age of thirty-nine, Cato was elected Consul, his colleague in office being his friend, Valerius Flaccus. His first act as Consul was eminently Catonian—an opposition, though an ineffectual one, to the repeal of the Oppian Law. This law, enacted during the time of public distress consequent on the invasion of Italy by Hannibal, forbade any woman to have in her dress over a half-ounce of gold, or to wear a garment of different colors, or to ride in a carriage drawn by two horses in the city or in any town, or within a mile of it, except upon the occasion of a public sacrifice. After his unsuccessful attempt to keep in restraint the Roman ladies, Cato set out for Spain, to quell an insurrection which had broken out in that province. With newly-raised troops, which he soon converted into an efficient army, he quickly reduced the Spanish insurgents to submission. His success in this campaign secured for him the honor of a triumph on his return to Rome, though some of his acts, while in Spain, can hardly win the approval of a modern historian. Two years after he had laid aside the consular dignity he rendered distinguished military service in Greece, as lieutenant of the Consul Acilius, in the war with Antiochus, which resulted in freeing Greece from the control of the East and uniting her fortunes with those of Rome.

Cato now returned to Rome with a high reputation as a soldier, as well as a lawyer, and entered with all the zeal of his energetic nature on the great work upon which his fame mainly rests—the self-imposed task of regulating the morals of his countrymen. Rome had now fairly entered upon her career as the despoiler of nations, and a love of luxuries and all the vices which attend rapacity and avarice were breaking in upon her with irresistible force. The enormous wealth which some of the Romans had acquired suddenly and without much labor, produced the same effects among them that wealth usually produces upon persons who unexpectedly become rich, without previous experience in the use of money. Accordingly, the pleasures which the Romans now sought, and in which they attempted to imitate their Greek neighbors, were of a coarse and vulgar kind. The simplicity and frugality of the ancient Roman mode of life were abandoned, and they gave themselves up to disgusting gluttony and debauchery. A slave who was a good cook now fetched a higher price than any other slave. Splendid residences began to be erected, and luxuries of every description found their way into Rome, supplanting the simplicity of former times. Cato was among the first to perceive the danger of this change of tastes and habits and to denounce it. For several years he made it his special business to scrutinize the conduct and character of all candidates for public honors, and to oppose with all the strength of his powerful invective the advancement of those whom he deemed unworthy. He questioned the pretended battles of Minucius Thermus, and defeated his efforts to secure a triumph. He denounced the peculations of Acilius Glabio, the conqueror of Antiochus, and he declaimed against Fulvius Nobilior for meanly flattering his soldiers

and for carrying about with him in his campaigns a "frivolous verse-writer," such an Ennius.

Cato was particularly inimical to the Scipios, because of their fondness for Greek manners, and the Greek way of living. It was through his influence, if not upon his direct accusation, that the great Scipio Africanus was summoned to appear before the Senate to answer the charge of having embezzled a part of the money which had been paid by King Antiochus. It so happened that the day on which he was called upon to do this was the anniversary of the battle of Zama. Scipio summoned the people to the Capitol, to offer thanks to Jupiter, and said that the day was ill-suited to litigation. The multitude joyfully accompanied him, and so significant was the demonstration that his accusers were deterred from continuing their attack. But though the charge was dropped, there is reason to think that it was generally believed to be well-founded. Scipio soon after left Rome and retired to his villa at Liturnum.

To Cato everything that bore upon it a Greek stamp and was therefore un-Roman, became for that very reason, an object of peculiar detestation. It was not alone the Greek frivolity and immorality which he hated—the fondness for showy dress, or the detestable Bacchanalian rites, which were discovered about this time secretly to have become widely prevalent in Rome—but Greek culture and Greek philosophy also came in for a share of his unsparing condemnation. He procured the expulsion from Rome of the Greek Carneades, because of the enthusiasm for philosophical speculation, which his teaching had aroused among the Roman youth. And so little was he himself attracted by the charms of Greek literature that, according to Cicero, he learned the Greek language only in his old age.

In B. C. 184, Cato was elected Censor, not, however, without strenuous opposition on the part of those who had only too good reason to dread the severity which was certain to mark his administration of this important office. He himself in the bitter canvass which preceded the election, did not hesitate to taunt his opponents with a fear of his justice. All of the better-minded people rallied to his support and his success was triumphant. Moreover, at his own desire, his old friend Valerius Flaccus was given him as a colleague.

The Censorship of Cato proved to be all that it was expected to be. He began by expelling from the Senate for various reasons, seven members, one of them, L. Quintius Flamininus, a man of consular rank. The case of Flamininus was a notable one, and it illustrates forcibly the need in Rome at this time of a man in authority of the fearless integrity of Cato. It was notorious that this powerful patrician, while in command of an army in Gaul, had slain with his own hand, in a drunken frolic, a Gallic prisoner, merely to gratify the whim of a wanton minion, and yet no notice had been taken of the foul deed, until Cato put this mark of degradation upon its perpetrators. Another Senator, Manilius, was expelled for the more characteristically Catonian reason that he had saluted his wife at what the stern Censor deemed an improper time. Others of his measures as Censor were of a purely sumptuary character, relating to expenses of the table and to dress and ornament, particularly of the women. He and his colleague also thoroughly revised the corrupt system of giving contracts. On the whole, the reforms of Cato were unquestionably salutary, and so highly were his services appreciated by the people that they honored him with a statue in the Temple of Health, bearing an inscription

testifying to his faithful discharge of the duties of his office.

Cato's warfare upon the rich and powerful brought him no end of trouble. While he was continually prosecuting others or aiding in their prosecution, he was himself the object of accusation. He was made to stand trial no less than fifty times, but in every case he was acquitted. The last accusation was brought against him in his eighty-sixth year. He complained feelingly in his speech on that occasion that he was obliged to plead his cause before men of an age different from that in which he had himself lived.

The last public service of Cato was as ambassador to Carthage, to arbitrate a dispute between the Carthaginians and King Massinissa. He was deeply impressed with the prosperous condition in which he found Carthage, and he conceived a dread of her future rivalry with Rome. Here was a growing power which must be clipped, at all hazards. After his return to Rome he was wont to conclude every speech which he made, no matter what the subject, with the well-known words, *"Praeterea censeo Carthaginem delendam esse"*—"Furthermore, I think that Carthage should be destroyed."

Cato died in the year following his embassy to Carthage, at the age of eighty-five, according to the usual accounts, or 90, according to the statement of Livy.

Livy has left us an estimate of the character of this remarkable man, which seems to be so just that it may be quoted entire: "So great were the powers of this man's mind, that he seemed able to attain to any situation he aimed at. No one qualification for the management of business, either public or private, was wanting to him. He was equally skilled in ordinary matters and in those of state. Some have been advanced to the highest honors

by their knowledge of the law, others by their eloquence, some by military renown; but this man's genius was so versatile, and so well adapted to all things, that in whatever he was engaged, it might be said that nature formed him for that alone. In war he was the most courageous, distinguishing himself highly in many remarkable battles; and when he arrived at the highest posts, was likewise the most consummate commander. Then, in peace, if information were wanted in a case of law, he was the wisest counselor; if a cause were to be pleaded, the most eloquent advocate. . . . Enmities in abundance gave him plenty of employment; nor was it easy to tell whether the nobility labored harder to keep him down, or he to oppress the nobility. His temper, no doubt, was austere, his language bitter and unboundedly free; but he was never ruled by passion; his integrity was inflexible, and he looked with contempt on popularity and riches."

Although frugal of the public revenues and severe in his condemnation of ill-gotten riches, Cato appears not to have been indifferent to wealth nor to have neglected the ordinary means of acquiring it. Indeed, if Plutarch speaks truly, some of the means resorted to by Cato to increase his resources would in these days be considered anything but honorable. He bought slaves, like hounds or foals, when they were young, in order to sell them when they were grown up and had been instructed in various accomplishments which added to their money value. In transactions of this sort it would be gross injustice to judge Cato by the standard of a time in which slavery has come to be looked upon with abhorrence in every civilized community. But we cannot be so lenient when we come to judge him for his treatment of slaves who had ceased to be serviceable. His advice as to the disposition to be made of such—and, presumably, his own practice—shows

a heartlessness such as we associate with a brute rather than a human being. He classes the old servant and the sick servant with old and worn-out implements, and his advice to the farmer is—to sell them.

Cato is usually presented to us as a type of the old Sabine-Samnite character. Yet it is hard to believe, after reading all that is related of him, that he truly represented the Italian race, even in its primitive period. One is more inclined to think that his acerbity was in a great measure the result of constant brooding on what he conceived to be the effeminacy of his own times—that he out-Romaned even the old Roman. In his own family he appears to have been stern and unlovable in the extreme, utterly without affection as a husband, treating his wives—he was twice married—no better than his slaves, while pride alone led him to take some interest in his sons. Toward the end of his life he is said to have unbended a little—to have been fond of indulging in a cheerful glass, and inviting some of his neighbors daily to sup with him. The conversation on these occasions turned, not upon rural affairs, as we might suppose would be the case, but upon the praises of the old Roman heroes.

It is impossible not to conceive a certain admiration for the dogged tenacity with which this hard headed old Roman Plebeian clung to the traditions of the past, and refused to see anything good in the great movement which was going on around him, but it is the admiration which we always accord to force of character, even when we are out of sympathy with its controlling motive. The movement needed to be guided, no doubt; to stop it was impossible. Had Cato restricted his opposition to what was bad, and encouraged what was good, he would have taken a far higher stand as a statesman than it is possible now to accord him. What he attempted to do was to stop

all progress—all betterment of condition, social or political. He made, and he probably saw, no distinction between refinement and luxury, between tasteful elegance and that tawdry ostentation with which coarseness, become suddenly possessed of the means, loves to bedeck itself. His stern warfare upon vice deserves of us only the highest praise; but as for the rest, his one idea was to bring his countrymen—deluded, as he thought—back to a time which every clear-headed man, even in his own day, must have seen to be dead beyond resurrection.

Cato was a voluminous writer, but, unfortunately, only a few of his works have come down to us, and these in a fragmentary shape. He left one hundred and fifty orations and a work on military discipline, both of which were extant in Cicero's time. He wrote a book on medicine—a sort of family receipt book, containing numerous simple remedies, such as were in use in the household in his day. The most interesting of his writings, however, are his work on Agriculture (*De Re Rustica*), and that on Antiquities (*De Originibus*), of which latter only some stray fragments have been preserved. The former of these works, in its present state, is merely the loose, unconnected journal of a plain farmer, consisting of the simplest rules of agriculture, and some receipts for making various kinds of bread and wine. Though divided into chapters, it is, in its present form, entirely without orderly arrangement, and gives the impression that its author never took the trouble to reduce his precepts to any sort of method, but simply jotted them down as they occurred to him.

In the "Origins," which he wrote in the vigor of his old age, completing it just before his death, Cato set down the results of his inquiries into the early history of the various Italian States. The work dealt with the antiqui-

ties and the language of the Roman people. It is said to have been undertaken with the avowed purpose of counteracting the influence of the Greek tastes introduced into Italy by the Scipios. Its first book, as we are informed by Cornelius Nepos, contained the exploits of the Kings of Rome. The second and third books treated of the origins of the different States of Italy. The fourth and fifth books comprehended the history of the first and second Punic wars, and the two remaining books treated of other Roman wars, down to the time when Servius Galba overthrew the Lusitanians. The work is said to have exhibited great industry and learning, and had it come down to us would have been of inestimable value to the modern historian of the Latin race.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR

B. C. 63—A. D. 14

THE FOUNDING OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Augustus Cæsar was known originally as Caius Octavius. He was a grandnephew of Julius Cæsar, his mother, Atia, being the daughter of Julia, one of the two sisters of Julius. His father, of the same name, died when he was a mere child, and his mother soon after married L. Philippus, under whose care he remained until about his sixteenth year, when his great-uncle, who was without children and had selected him as his heir, took his education in hand. When Cæsar celebrated his triumph for his victories in Africa, his nephew rode by his side, decorated with badges of military honor. The next year the young Octavius accompanied his uncle into Spain, where he is said to have given indications of possessing an unusual aptitude for military affairs. On the close of the campaign he was sent to the camp at Apollonia, in Epirus, where Cæsar was collecting an army for his projected expedition against the Parthians, there to continue his studies under the instruction of the rhetorician Apollodorus.

Octavius had been in the camp at Apollonia scarcely more than four months when news of the assassination of his uncle called him forth, though then hardly more than eighteen years of age, to take a leading part in the stirring events of the times. The news came in a brief letter from his mother. She could give no particulars; nothing was known of the extent of the conspiracy, but she urged him to repair to Rome at once.

When he showed this letter to his friends, many of them warmly dissuaded him from such a course. M. Agrippa and Q. Salvidienus advised him to throw himself on the protection of the legions among which he was. At the same time he was invited by some of their officers to put himself at their head, with the assurance that the soldiers would march with alacrity to avenge their murdered hero. In this conflict of advice he was thrown upon his own judgment, and the decision he took shows that, young as he was, he possessed a clear head. He determined to slip over quietly into Italy, without having committed himself to any course, and to study for himself the condition of affairs.

He landed at an obscure town near Brundisium, and here he remained a few days collecting information. Copies of the will by which Cæsar made Octavius his heir and adopted son were sent him; and he now boldly assumed the name Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, and presented himself to the garrison of Brundisium, which received him with acclamation.

His next step was to send to the Senate and to Antony, who was then in authority at Rome, a formal claim for his inheritance; and this step he followed up by starting leisurely for the capital, taking care to disclaim any ulterior intentions. Hundreds of the veteran soldiers of Cæsar flocked to meet him, and offering to avenge under his command the slaughter of their old General, but he prudently declined the offer, and continued on his way with only a few attendants.

Upon arriving in Rome, Octavius was coolly, even contemptuously, received by Antony. Before he could legally claim to be Cæsar's heir the adoption must be formally sanctioned, and every obstacle to obtaining this recognition was thrown in his way. Cæsar had made in

his will certain legacies to the people. They had not been paid. These Octavius, unable to get at his inheritance, paid with his own means and by borrowing money of friends. This act and other well-considered steps won for him great popularity, particularly among the veterans, who began to look upon him as the only probable avenger of Cæsar, since Antony had adopted a conciliatory policy toward the "liberators," but he continued to disclaim all intention of taking an active part in political affairs.

These affairs were now in a most perplexingly mixed condition. Antony, as consul, was the legalized head of the State; the Senate was subservient to him, and he had in the city a force sufficient to repress disorder. But he needed to act with caution. Brutus and Cassius were still in Italy, though they kept aloof from public affairs. Decimus Brutus, in defiance of a prohibition of the Senate, had gone into Cisalpine Gaul, and had collected a considerable military force. Lepidus, Antony's colleague, was in Spain. Sextus Pompeius had got possession of Sicily. Cicero, trimming, as usual, and seeking to make friends in all parties, was declaiming against Antony, for mismanagement and ambitious designs. And to add to the confusion, a conspiracy against the life of Antony was discovered, which was charged to Octavius, though he stoutly denied the charge and it is now generally discredited.

Nearly a year passed after the assassination of Cæsar before matters assumed any definite shape. Antony had then broken with the Senate, by refusing to confine himself to Macedonia, which had been assigned to him as a province, and moving into Cisalpine Gaul, where he laid siege to Decimus Brutus, who had shut himself up in the town of Mutina. Octavius had now decided upon his course of action, and had raised a considerable force of

veterans. Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls, were sent by the Senate to relieve Decimus Brutus, and Octavius joined his force to theirs. The combined forces attacked Antony, and were victorious; but both of the consuls were slain in the engagement. Antony fled into Transalpine Gaul, where he was joined by Lepidus.

Octavius now determined upon a bold move. Marching to Rome at the head of his forces, he caused himself to be elected Consul by open intimidation of the Senate, and the liberties of the commonwealth were lost forever. He was now within one month of the close of the twentieth year of his age.

Invested with the authority of Consul, and in command of a numerous army, Octavius now marched back into Cisalpine Gaul, and found Lepidus and Antony, who had recrossed the Alps, in the neighborhood of Mutina. A friendly correspondence had been carried on between the chiefs of the two armies, before they were advanced very near to each other; and the result was an agreement that all their differences should be settled and their future course of action should be arranged at a personal interview.

The interview resulted in the formation of a Triumvirate, or High Commission of Three, for the settlement of the affairs of the commonwealth, during a period of five years. They partitioned among themselves all the western provinces of the Empire—that is, all which were not then in the actual possession of the republican leaders. It was arranged that Antony should rule the two Gauls. To Octavius fell Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, while the peninsula of Italy, the hearth of Roman freedom, was exempt from this extraordinary control, but was entrusted to Lepidus, who was designated Consul for the ensuing year.

The compact formed was now cemented by one of the most bloody measures that stain the pages of history—a wholesale proscription of their personal enemies. For three days, we are told, the associates sat with a list of the noblest citizens before them, and each in turn pricked off a man whom he wished to perish. When they found their wishes to clash, they resorted to mutual concessions. Among the proscribed was Cicero, the particular enemy of Antony, and when Octavius would have saved him Antony surrendered to him his own uncle on his mother's side, Lucius Cæsar. The whole number of the proscribed extended, we are told, to 300 Senators and 2,000 knights. At the same time the soldiers put forward claims for reward which could not be ignored. A list of eighteen cities was drawn up, among them some of the finest in Italy, to be delivered to the soldiers with the country adjoining, by the dispossession from their estates of the existing occupants.

The self-appointed Triumvirs now marched upon the city, took possession of it, and carried into effect their bloody decree. The work was entrusted to hired assassins, who rushed through the city in search of their victims and slaughtered them wherever they could be found. But the fiend of carnage, once let loose, was not content with authorized murder. Many who had not been proscribed perished, for the thirst for blood spread to all who had a grudge to settle. Many a private debt was wiped out by the death of the creditor. A second and third and even a fourth proscription followed before the work was done, the latest victims being selected simply for their wealth, which was confiscated.

Scenes equally violent and unauthorized were enacted in the distribution of the lands. Murder was often added to dispossession. Many who were not proscribed fell vic-

tims to the covetousness of their neighbors, and the guilty were never brought to an account. The full horrors of the proscription were never known. In the end thousands of the rich in Italy, who had escaped murder, had been reduced to beggary, and the rough soldiers who had overthrown the commonwealth were in possession of their estates.

While these scenes of murder and spoliation were taking place in Italy, Brutus and Cassius were collecting an army in Macedonia. As soon as affairs were somewhat settled in Italy, Antony and Octavius led an army to Macedonia, leaving Lepidus in charge at Rome, and defeated the two republican leaders in the battle of Philippi (B. C. 42). Brutus and Cassius both committed suicide.

Antony now, in an evil hour, undertook the management of the Asiatic provinces, while Octavius returned to Italy. They also relieved themselves of Lepidus, partly by persuasion and partly by threats, and sent him as proprætor to Africa.

Antony soon fell before the fascination of Cleopatra, and, forgetful of his eastern provinces, he turned aside to Alexandria; and there we may leave him for the present, spending his days and nights in rioting with the Egyptian Queen.

Octavius was now the master of one-half of the Roman world. His first measure was to add new confiscations in Italy to those already made, for in this way only could he satisfy the demands of his unpaid soldiers. Lucius Antonius, brother of the Triumvir, was Consul for the following year. Instigated by Fulvia, Antony's wife, Lucius set himself up as champion of the dispossessed landholders of Italy, and headed an insurrection against Octavius. He was finally compelled to shut himself up

in the town of Perusia. After standing here a long siege, the horrors of which were aggregated by famine, he capitulated. The life of Lucius was spared, but the town and its people were delivered over to the soldiers. There is a story, though of doubtful authority, that Octavius selected 300 of the Perusians, and sacrificed them to the shade of Julius, who had then been formally raised to the rank of a demi-god.

Antony, who, during the occurrence of these events, had remained supinely inactive in Egypt, now became aroused to the danger of the growing power of Octavius, and having formed an alliance with Sextus and Domitius Pompey, was already threatening Italy, when better counsels prevailed on both sides, and the horrors of another civil war were averted by a new treaty between the two rivals. Fulvia was now dead, and the peace was ratified by Antony's marriage with Octavia, the sister of his colleague in empire. This was in the year 40 B. C.

Sextus Pompey now becomes an important character in the drama. Pompey's power was on the sea. While Antony was still at Rome, Pompey succeeded so effectually in interrupting the grain supply of Rome that the Triumvirs were compelled by the clamors of the people to make terms with him. He was admitted as a fourth partner in the Triumvirate, and was given as his province Sicily and Sardinia.

Antony now set out from Rome to lead his legions against the Parthians. But he stopped at Athens, where he spent the winter with his newly wedded wife, Octavia, in a round of dissipation which must have shocked not a little the staid matron at his side. In the spring, however, he recovered himself and proceeded with his expedition.

The peace with Pompey was not of long continuance.

It was broken by his refusal to comply with all of its terms, and war between him and Octavius was renewed on the sea, in which the advantage lay with Pompey for nearly two years, when he was finally defeated by Agrippa (B. C. 36) in a naval battle off the coast of Sicily. Lepidus had been drawn into alliance with Pompey; but he was magnanimously pardoned by Octavius, though removed from the Triumvirate, which had a short time before been renewed for a second term of five years.

With the defeat of Sextus begins a new period in the life of Octavius. He was now in his twenty-eighth year. His power was established on a firm basis. One of his colleagues had been deposed; the other, self-banished in the East, was fast acquiring the tastes and habits of the despised Orientals. Italy lay submissive under his feet. Her spirit had been broken, the flower of her nobility destroyed by the terrible proscriptions. His soldiers had been satisfied. There was no longer need of harsh measures. From this time forward his whole conduct showed a sincere desire to win the esteem and love of the people, to blot from their recollection the horrors of the past. On returning to Rome from his victorious Sicilian expedition he was received with every honor which fear or flattery could suggest. The Senate and the citizens went out to meet him in festive procession; and on this occasion he delivered an address, in which he reviewed the whole course of his Triumvirate, excused the severe measures on the ground of necessity, and pledged himself that the civil war had reached its final termination.

He now turned his attention to establishing a mild, though firm, government in Rome and throughout Italy, leaving to the people as much liberty as was compatible with his own supreme control, and repressing with a firm hand all disorder in the State. By this evident concern

for the public weal and by his affable manners he soon secured a genuine popularity and came to be looked upon as a real benefactor of the State. At the same time he began a system of public improvement of the city, by building useful works and erecting splendid edifices. In this work he found an able assistant in Agrippa, while in his legislation and constitutional reforms Mæcenas was his trusted adviser.

Hostilities broke out with the Illyrians, Dalmatians, and other barbarian tribes, and Octavius conducted in person campaigns against them in three successive summers, adding to his military reputation, but, what was of more importance to him, exercising his legions, for already the cloud of a greater war was looming up in the East.

Antony, after an unsuccessful campaign against the Parthians, had again fallen under the dominion of Cleopatra. Reports of the scandalous orgies celebrated at the Alexandrian court reached Italy, and filled the public mind with disgust and estranged it from the absent triumvir, though Antony still had vigilant friends to watch over his interests in Rome. To both Antony and Octavius it became clear that a conflict between them was unavoidable, and both stealthily prepared themselves for it. Antony tore himself away from Cleopatra and marched into Asia, on pretense of resuming the war against the Parthians, but really to effect an alliance with the King of Media, while Octavius, on his side, assembled a large force, pretending a design upon Britain. At the same time Octavius maintained the semblance of good will toward Antony, but sought to increase the public indignation against the Egyptian Queen. Gradually he molded public opinion to his purpose. The climax came when Octavius, having surreptitiously gotten possession of Antony's will, broke the seal and read the contents of it pub-

licly, first to the Senate and afterward before the popular assembly. The parts of the will which aroused especial indignation were Antony's recognition of Cleopatra's son, Cæsarion, as the son of Julius, and his desire that after his death his body might be taken to Alexandria and be deposited by the side of that of Cleopatra. Every effort was made by Octavius to give to the approaching contest the appearance of being a war with Egypt, and to array on his side the national pride and jealousy of Rome.

War with the Queen of Egypt was finally declared by Octavius. Antony, whose preparations were already completed, repaired to Athens with his fleet, with which was joined that of Cleopatra; and from Athens he issued a counter declaration of war, to which he added the insult of divorcing himself from Octavia.

The contest between these two powerful rivals for the sole control of the Roman world was settled in a great naval battle off the promontory of Actium. The fleet of Octavius, commanded by Agrippa, won the victory. The ships of Antony and Cleopatra, such as did not, through their lightness, escape by flight, were almost utterly destroyed. Antony and Cleopatra fled to Egypt. The troops which Antony had assembled in Greece threw down their arms, after the defection of their leader, or consented to employ them in the service of Octavius.

After spending some months in regulating his affairs in Greece, Octavius was at leisure to pursue his defeated rival. Meanwhile Antony and Cleopatra in Egypt had made every effort, first, to repair their disaster and, afterward, separately, to make terms with Octavius. With Antony, Octavius refused to negotiate. Cleopatra's offer to surrender Antony, he indignantly rejected; but at the same time he caused it artfully to be insinuated to her that her own personal charms might be the means of her secur-

ing favor with him, and for a time Cleopatra indulged in a dream of a new conquest, which might yet make her the Queen of the Roman world. Antony, in his despair, committed suicide, by opening his veins with a dagger. He was taken to the apartment of Cleopatra, and died in her arms. Cleopatra herself, after having become convinced in an interview with Octavius that he was impregnable to her seduction, followed the example of Antony. The manner of her death was never known with certainty, as no marks were found upon her person; but it has always been supposed that she died from the poisonous bite of an asp* Octavius had permitted Cleopatra to bury Anthony with regal honors in the tombs of the Ptolemies, and she was now placed by his side. Her son Cæsarion, whom she had sent for safety into Libya, was inveigled into the power of Octavius and was executed; but her children by Antony were permitted to live, though deprived, of course, of their sovereignty.

Octavius now made Egypt a Roman province, and appointed a favorite officer, Cornelius Gallus, to govern it. He then set out on a tour of inspection through Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. The most notable incident of this tour was the effort made by two rival claimants to the throne of Parthia to have him act as arbitrator. He refused to interfere in their quarrel, but gave to Tiradates an asylum in Syria, and accepted as hostage the young daughter of Phraates, who was the actual occupant of the throne.

After an absence of nearly two years Octavius returned to Rome, and was accorded a triple triumph, one for his successes obtained over the Dalmatians, a second for the victory at Actium, while the third commemorated the final extinction of the rivalry between the East and the

* Merivale, "The Romans under the Emperors," vol. III, p. 324

West before the walls of Alexandria. The spectacle of the last day was the richest and most attractive. The procession was headed by the captive children of the Queen and her Roman lover, while following them came an image of Cleopatra herself, reclining in rich attire upon a couch and with an asp attached to each arm. Then followed the usual games, in which for the first time the hippopotamus and the rhinoceros were seen in Rome.

We have now to pass hastily over a space of two years, in which Octavius was engaged in consolidating his power, while at the same time winning his way to the hearts of the people by liberal expenditures for their aid or their amusement, by erecting new buildings, and particularly by the pious work of repairing the neglected temples of the gods. One of the first acts of Octavius, after his return from the East, was the closing of the Temple of Janus, thus signifying in an impressive manner that peace now reigned throughout the whole extent of the vast empire.

It has been said that Octavius at this time seriously contemplated resigning his great power and restoring the republic, and that when he consulted his two trusted advisers, Agrippa and Mæcenas, the former favored such a course, while the latter advised him against it. At any rate, he found it expedient to declare such an intention to the Senate. Considering his actual power, as commander of a still undisbanded army, there was but one way to meet such a proposal. The Senators with one voice entreated their magnanimous patron to retain the powers they had entrusted to him for their benefit. The imperium, or chief military command, was thrust back upon him, though he refused to accept it for a period of more than ten years, and thus the farce ended.

And now arose an interesting and not unimportant

question, by what title he should be addressed. The title of King had been hateful to the Romans from the beginning of the republic, and was not to be thought of; that of Dictator was scarcely less odious. The title finally selected was Augustus, which was bestowed upon him by the Senate in January, B. C. 27, and thenceforward it is by the name Augustus that he appears in Roman history. Subsequently was added the complimentary designation, "Father of his Country."

Having now sketched the events, extending over fourteen years, through which Octavius, or, as we must now call him, Augustus, attained to his position of Imperator, or Emperor, of the Roman world, it will be convenient to treat of the remainder of his long reign with less attention to the exact order of occurrences. Augustus visited at different times every part of his vast empire, sometimes for the purpose of conducting military operations, and always with a view to effecting a more perfect organization of the provinces. Soon after he assumed the title of Augustus, he visited Gaul and Spain, the latter of which countries he succeeded in bringing for the first time completely under Roman control. In B. C. 22 he made a second tour through the eastern provinces. On this occasion he was again appealed to by the rival claimants for the throne of Parthia, and as the price of the Roman support of Phraates, who then held a precarious possession of the kingdom, he demanded and obtained the restoration of the standards which had been lost by Crassus, some thirty years before—a successful piece of negotiation which particularly gratified the Roman Senate and populace. During his three years' absence upon this expedition, affairs at Rome were managed by Agrippa. Soon after his return from the East he was called into Gaul by a formidable outbreak of some of the Alpine tribes;

and, having suppressed this disturbance, he made a second visit to Spain. After his return from Spain the Temple of Janus was a second time closed.

Augustus gradually formed, for the purpose of controlling the provinces and repressing hostilities along the border of the Empire, a thoroughly organized standing army, the size of which came finally to be fixed at twenty-five legions. The full complement of each of these legions was 6,100 foot and 726 horse, and this continued to be the strength of the Roman legion for a period of 400 years. He also inaugurated the system of military roads, the first works of this kind being constructed in Gaul, under the supervision of Agrippa.

In organizing his imperial government, Augustus was careful to preserve the semblance of the old republican constitution. His policy was to cajole the people into the belief that they still retained some portion of their liberties, and to keep himself as much as possible in the background. Consuls and Tribunes and Censors still continued to be elected, as in the time of the republic—he himself during the early years of his power was usually one of the Consuls—though the powers of all of these officers were successively conferred permanently upon him by the Senate. This body was permitted still to retain its old functions; its sanction was still held to be necessary to every act of administration, though its members could not but feel that their action was a mere formality. In reorganizing the internal administration of the State, Augustus made a special effort to bring back the citizens to their ancestral religious rites and ceremonies. New fanes and altars were erected in the city and elsewhere to the half-forgotten Latin divinities, and old religious festivals were revived. He sought, too, to restore the sanctity of marriage, which had ceased to be regarded as

much else than a civil contract, and to encourage marriage by laws against celibacy.

The greater became the power of Augustus, the more solicitous he was to appear by his habits and demeanor to stand on a level with the citizens. His mansion on the Palatine Hill was moderate in size and decoration, and he showed his contempt for the voluptuous appliances of Patrician luxury by retaining the same bed-chamber both in winter and summer. His dress was that of a plain Senator, and he let it be known that his robe was woven by the hands of Livia herself and the maids of her apartment. He was seen to traverse the streets as a private citizen, with no more than the ordinary retinue of slaves and clients, addressing familiarly the acquaintances he met, taking them courteously by the hand or leaning on their shoulders, allowing himself to be summoned as a witness in their suits, and often attending in their houses on occasions of domestic interest. At table his habits were sober and decorous, and his mode of living abstemious; he was generally the last to approach and the earliest to quit the board. His guests were few in number, and were chosen for the most part for their social qualities. Virgil and Horace, the Plebeian poets, were as welcome to his hours of recreation as Pollio or Messala. His conversation turned on subjects of intellectual interest; he disdained the amusement which the vulgar rich derived from dwarfs, idiots, and monsters. Some ribald stories were current respecting his private habits, which the citizens gratified themselves with repeating, though attaching, perhaps, little credit to them. The guardian of manners and reviver of the ancient purity was affirmed to have courted, sometimes in the rudest and most open manner, the wives of the noblest Romans; not from unbridled appetite, but in order, as his apologists averred, to extract

from his paramours the political secrets of their consorts. Such stories, however, were too commonly reported of all conspicuous characters to be deserving of a too easy credence.*

During the long reign of Augustus his legions were almost continually engaged somewhere in active warfare, particularly along the northern border of the Empire. The Pannonians, Illyrians, and Dalmatians were finally reduced to complete subjection, and the bounds of the Empire were pushed on the side of these tribes to the Danube. The Alpine tribes and the Germans continued longer to give trouble, but these, too, were at last brought under submission, and the Roman authority was respected across the Rhine as far as the Weser and perhaps to the Elbe. Then came a terrible military reverse, which combined with domestic troubles to sadden the closing years of the life of Augustus. Quintilius Varus had been sent by Augustus to take command of the newly acquired German province. The Germans, under their leader, Arminius, rose in revolt against Varus, compelled him to retreat, and defeated him (A. D. 91) in the Black Forest, annihilating completely his three legions. Varus and several of his officers took their own lives in despair. Prompt measures were taken by Augustus to repair the disaster, by sending Tiberius into Gaul, to prevent the passage of the Germans across the Rhine. But after the immediate necessity for action had passed, the aged Emperor sank into a state of nervous despondency. For many months he allowed his hair and beard to go untrimmed, and was even known to dash his head against the walls of his chamber, exclaiming, mournfully: "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!"

The conspiracy of Cinna against Augustus (A. D. 4)

* Merivale, "The Romans under the Emperors."

is remarkable for the way in which the conspirator, after his plot had been revealed by an accomplice, was treated by Augustus. There was a time when Augustus would have wreaked terrible vengeance on a culprit of this sort; but his passions had now cooled, and he could reason that, though severity might punish, it could not prevent such crimes. He sent for Cinna, seated him by his side, and proceeded to read to him a long document he had prepared, in which he recited the favors he had bestowed upon Cinna, and set forth all of the details of the plot, as they had been made known to him, and in the end astonished his trembling listener by an assurance, not only of forgiveness, but of renewal of favor. Shortly afterward he conferred upon Cinna the consulship, and found him ever afterward a grateful and sincere adherent.

One of the greatest of the afflictions which clouded the declining years of Augustus was the misconduct of his daughter and only child, Julia. Julia was the daughter of Scribonia, whom Augustus divorced to marry Livia. She was given in marriage, first to Marcellus, the son of Octavia—whom Augustus early fixed upon as his heir and successor, and whose early death was a source of the keenest grief to him—then to Agrippa, and after the death of Agrippa, to Tiberius, the elder of the two sons of Livia. History paints Julia as one of the most beautiful and brilliant of women, and at the same time one of the most dissolute. For a long time Augustus closed his eyes to her misconduct, or limited his action to severe reprimand. But the orgies of Julia became so notorious and so scandalous, that even a fond father could no longer overlook them. Julia was sent into banishment, together with the reputed partners of her licentiousness, among whom were some of the noblest youths of Rome.

During the last twenty years of the long reign of

Augustus, he was deprived of the able counsel and coöperation of Agrippa and Mæcenas, who died at nearly the same time, and came more and more completely under the control of Livia, who seems to have been the only woman for whom he ever entertained a sincere regard. The story of his life toward its close becomes little more than a domestic drama, in which the central figures are a scheming woman, plotting to secure for her son the succession to the imperial toga, and a feeble old man, grown morose from ill-health, saddened through disappointment from the successive deaths of all whom he had chosen to succeed him, conscious of the plotting around him, detesting in his heart the man—Tiberius—whom he has been induced to adopt, and still hoping to find a way out of his dilemma. As Augustus felt his strength failing, it seemed to him that a change of air might be beneficial. Accordingly, accompanied by Livia, he went to Campania. Here he died, at Nola, August 19, A. D. 14—by a singular coincidence in the very month that was named for him—near the close of the seventy-sixth year of his age and in the forty-fifth year of his reign.

Augustus was in his stature somewhat below the medium height, according to Suetonius, but extremely well proportioned. His hair was inclined to curl, and was of a yellowish-brown. His eyes were bright and lively, and the general expression of his countenance was remarkably calm and mild. His literary attainments, for an obvious reason, were not great, though he took great pleasure in the society of men of culture. His own style of writing was heavy and dull. His speeches on any public occasion were written and committed to memory; and not only this, but so fearful was he that he might drop some unguarded expression, that even when discussing any important subject with his wife he was accustomed

to write down what he had to say and to read it to her. He seems to have been quite indifferent to the beauties of art. Instead of adorning his residence on the Palatine with statuary and painting, he decorated his halls with fossil bones, gathered in Sardinia and elsewhere—bones which passed for those of giants—thus testifying to a penchant toward science rather than art. It is probable that the patronage which he extended to Virgil and Horace, and to other deserving poets, is to be credited to Mæcenas rather than to him, though, doubtless he heartily coöperated in this policy of his cultured and trusted minister.

Augustus left to his successors an inheritance, both of territory and policy, which remained substantially unaltered for a period of more than two centuries. Britain and Judæa were the only considerable additions made to the Empire after the death of Augustus, and no territory was stripped from it permanently during these centuries. Though in the list of Roman Emperors Julius Cæsar stands first, Augustus was the real founder of the Empire.

JUSTINIAN

485-565

THE CODIFICATION OF THE ROMAN LAWS.

The Emperor Justinian was born of obscure barbarian parentage near the site of the modern town of Sophia, in Bulgaria. His elevation was prepared by the fortunes of his uncle, Justin, who, having enlisted at an early age in the Imperial Guard at Constantinople, had risen to wealth and military distinction, had commanded the guard at the important crisis of the death of the Emperor Anastasius, and, taking advantage of an intrigue in the palace, had, at the age of sixty-eight years, seated himself on the vacant throne. Justin had neither the natural ability nor the education requisite in the position, to which he had raised himself; but he found a useful assistant in his nephew, Justinian, whom he had drawn from his Dacian home and had educated at Constantinople, as the heir of his private fortune, and at length of the Eastern Empire. After a short reign of nine years—and four months before his death—Justin, finding his health failing, solemnly in the presence of the patriarch and of the Senate placed the diadem upon the head of Justinian, who was then proclaimed in the circus, and saluted by the applause of the people as the lawful sovereign of the East.

Justinian became Emperor in A. D. 527, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His reign lasted thirty-eight years and seven months. Its events are very fully related by Procopius, the private secretary of Belisarius. They are presented in different lights, according as the his-

torian courted the favor of the sovereign or smarted under the sting of disgrace. Procopius wrote a *History*, and a book of *Edifices*, in which he celebrates the genius, magnificence, and piety of Justinian. He afterward wrote a book of *Anecdotes*, wherein he sought to undo his former work, representing the Emperor as an odious and contemptible tyrant, and presenting his Empress, Theodora, as having been before her marriage the vilest of prostitutes. The Anecdotes are so evidently steeped in venom as to be quite unworthy of credence; yet it is upon the authority of this satire alone that rest the scandalous tales respecting the Empress Theodora, which have found a place in history.

But while we may reasonably question the naked scenes in which Procopius has depicted the youthful Theodora, there is no doubt of her lowly origin—that she was a daughter of the "bear-keeper" of the circus, and that she, together with her sisters, had appeared upon the theater in pantomime. Before her marriage with Justinian, however, she had withdrawn from the stage, and had returned, or seemed to have returned to a life of chastity, if ever she departed from it, earning her support by spinning wool in a small house, which afterward she transformed into a magnificent temple. Though her beauty may have been that which first captivated Justinian, she possessed an understanding and a temper which secured for her an ascendency over him during the twenty-three years through which she remained his consort; in all these years the breath of scandal was never raised against the Empress, though as much cannot be said of her intimate friend, Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, with whom she was often in league in disposing of some of the weightiest affairs of the Empire.

But while Theodora is painted as a model wife, and while she founded institutions of charity and religion, she was very far from being either a model ruler or a model woman. She was avaricious and was unscrupulous in her means of acquiring wealth; the most illustrious personages of the State often suffered the indignity of her capricious arrogance; and the reproach of cruelty has left an indelible stain upon her memory. Her spies observed and reported every word or action injurious to their royal mistress, and whomsoever they charged were immured in her private prisons, beyond the reach of justice, some to perish, others to reappear in the world, after the loss of limbs or of reason, the living monuments of the vengeance of an Empress.

In those times of schism in the Church the creed of the sovereign was of vital moment. Unfortunately for her credit with the Church, that of Theodora, though she was exemplary in her devotion, was tainted with heresy; but it is quite possible that to this very circumstance is to be attributed the religious tolerance of Justinian.

Among the benevolent institutions founded by Theodora was a monastery, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, endowed with a liberal maintenance for the support of 500 women, who had been collected from the streets and brothels of Constantinople. In this holy retreat they were devoted to *perpetual confinement*, and though some are said in their despair to have flung themselves headlong into the sea, it may be hoped that the greater number were grateful to the Empress for their enforced deliverance from sin.

The health of Theodora was always delicate. By the advice of her physicians she visited annually the Pythian warm baths. On these occasions she was attended by

the Prætorian prefect, the great treasurer, several counts and patricians, and a train of 4,000 attendants. The highways were repaired at her approach. And as she passed through Bithynia, she distributed liberal alms to the churches, monasteries, and hospitals that prayers might be offered for the restoration of her health. At length, in the twenty-fourth year of her marriage and the twenty-second of her reign she died of a cancer. Her loss to Justinian was irreparable. She had been his trusted adviser, and had shared with him equally the cares and the honors of government. On more than one occasion of civil disturbance she had displayed a courage which shamed into resolute action her less spirited consort. He himself has left on record that his laws were to be attributed to the counsels of his most revered wife.

Justinian inherited an Empire bounded on the north by the Danube, on the east by the Euphrates, and embracing Armenia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The Western Empire had already been broken up by the northern barbarians. Spain was possessed by the Visigoths, Gaul by the Franks, Italy by the Goths, and Africa by the Vandals. He left an Empire enlarged by the restoration of Africa and Italy; but this work of conquest, and the wars carried on with Chosroes, the King of Persia, which, after various vicissitudes of fortune, left the borders of the Empire in this quarter as he had found them, were delegated to his lieutenants. Justinian himself had neither a genius nor a taste for military operations. His personal supervision was confined to the internal affairs of his Empire. His constant care was to strengthen its fortifications, particularly against the frequent incursions of the northern hordes. Along the Danube from the River Save to the Euxine was

extended a chain of four-score defensive works, and innumerable castles were built in Dacia, Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia. The wall at the isthmus of Corinth was repaired, as a protection of the cities of Peloponnesus. To protect Constantinople itself Anastasius had built what was known as the "long wall," sixty miles in length, from the Propontis to the Euxine, and this, too, was strengthened by Justinian. These are some of his more important defensive works in the European portion of his Empire—virtual confessions that the Empire no longer dared to rely wholly on the terror inspired by its soldiery. Similar works were constructed in Asia. A chain of new or repaired fortifications was gradually constructed, extending from the Chalybian Mountains, in the northeast, along the line of the Euphrates, to the Persian gulf, while within the region thus bounded, in Mesopotamia and Armenia, the towns were diligently strengthened, and all positions of military importance were occupied with forts, substantially built of stone or brick, and strongly garrisoned.

But Justinian did not restrict his edifices to those designed for defense. In Constantinople alone, and in the adjacent suburbs, he erected twenty-five churches, the most of which were decorated with marble and gold, while numerous other cities of the Empire—among them, Trebizond, Antioch, Epheseus, Carthage—profited in like manner by his generous liberality. At Jerusalem he erected to the Virgin a temple, for which it was necessary first to secure a site by raising a part of a deep valley to the height of the mountain. The temple was built of stone from a neighboring quarry, hewn into large blocks, and two of its pillars of red marble were esteemed the largest in the world.

The most splendid of the edifices of Justinian was the Church of St. Sophia, now the principal mosque of Constantinople. The original Church of St. Sophia, built by the founder of the Western Empire, was destroyed by fire, and a structure erected in its place met the same fate in a sedition which occurred in the fifth year of Justinian's reign. Within forty days after its destruction the work of rebuilding the church on a grander scale and with greater magnificence was begun. Ten thousand workmen are said to have been employed upon it, and the Emperor himself, clad in a linen tunic, came daily to survey their rapid progress, and to stimulate them by his familiarity and by his rewards. In the building of this temple, and of other similar works, Justinian was fortunate in having the services of architects who seem to have brought to perfection the purely mechanical and mathematical part of the art of building. The aërial dome of this edifice, 115 feet in diameter, and with so slight a convexity as to be nearly flat, continues still to be an architectural marvel. Twenty years after St. Sophia was built a portion of it was destroyed by an earthquake; but the building was restored in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, and, with the substitution of the crescent for the cross, it remains externally as it was left by Justinian.

To execute these public works, to meet the expenses of his wars and to satisfy the conditions of disgraceful treaties with Persia, Justinian required vast sums of money. Anastasius had amassed by rigid economy an enormous treasure; but these riches were quickly dissipated by Justinian, and to meet his extraordinary expenses he was compelled to draw upon his people. Oppressive taxation paralyzed industry and spread from one end to the other of the Empire discontent, which

frequently broke out into insurrection. The condition of the people—under the shadow of the splendid buildings which their means had erected, and behind the costly fortification which did not always protect—appears, if we may trust the accounts of Procopius, to have been one of unalloyed wretchedness. In one instance only does Justinian seem to have given any thought to the industrial welfare of his people—the first consideration of the wise modern ruler—he introduced into his Empire from China the silk-worm and the manufacture of silk. The measure was taken, however, not for the purpose of benefiting of his subjects by the introduction of a new industry, but because the importation of silks, which had become necessary to the rich, was seriously interfered with by the Persians. At the court of Justinian there were corruption and avarice in high places, at which both the Emperor and the Empress connived, if they did not sometimes profit by it. Not all of the wealth extorted from the people went into the royal treasury. The wars of Justinian, though glorious to his reign, having been conducted by his lieutenants, belong less to the story of his own life and actions than to general history, and can be disposed of briefly. Justinian began his reign with a war with Persia, which proved both costly and unprofitable, and at the end of five years was concluded by the purchase of an ignominious peace. In the seventh year of his reign he entered upon a war with Gelimer, the Vandal King of Africa, who had dethroned and cast into prison his kinsman, Hilderic, in whose behalf Justinian now took up arms. The conduct of the war was entrusted to Belisarius, a Thracian by birth, who, having first served in the guard of Justinian, had afterward shown great generalship in the Persian War. In three months after he had effected

a landing near Carthage, Belisarius was able to report to Justinian that he had achieved the conquest of Africa. He had defeated Gelimer in two battles, and was in possession of Carthage. The army of Gelimer had been utterly routed and dispersed, and he himself had fled into Numidia, whither he was followed by a lieutenant of Belisarius. In the following year Gelimer surrendered, upon the assurance of safety and honorable treatment given him by Belisarius in the name of the Emperor. The pledge was faithfully kept, and the ex-King of Africa passed the remainder of his days the proprietor of an ample estate in Galatia.

The brilliant success of Belisarius created in his own camp jealous enmity against him, and word was secretly sent to Justinian that the conquering General designed to seat himself on the vacant throne of Africa; but the promptness with which he responded to an order for his recall disconcerted his traducers and restored to him, to all outward appearances, the confidence of his sovereign. Belisarius was accorded a triumph for his victory, which imposing ceremony was now for the first time seen at Constantinople.

In the next year Justinian determined upon war with Theodatus, the Gothic King of Italy. The occasion of the war was, as in the case with Africa, a quarrel between two claimants of the throne. Belisarius was again put in command of the imperial army. Having first effected the conquest of Sicily and settled a revolt in Africa, in two campaigns he drove the Goths entirely out of lower Italy, and ended by securing, through a risky intrigue with the Gothic General, Vitiges, the surrender of their last stronghold, Ravenna. Belisarius had feigned to listen with favor to an invitation of Vitiges to assume himself the crown of Italy, Theodatus

having by pusillanimously keeping himself shut up in his capital, forfeited the respect of his soldiers. Justinian may have heard something of this intrigue. At any rate, he recalled Belisarius before his conquest had been fairly secured, with the excuse that the remnant of the Gothic War might be entrusted to less able hands, and that he alone was capable of defending the East against the innumerable armies of Persia.

Belisarius was now sent against the Persians. He saved the East, but he offended Theodora, and perhaps the Emperor himself. The ill-health of Justinian rendered plausible a false report of his death; and Belisarius and his colleague seem to have expressed themselves with incautious freedom on the subject of the succession. His colleague, Buzes, lost his rank and his liberty by the command of Theodora. Belisarius was recalled, this time also upon a pretext that he was needed elsewhere—in Italy. But no sooner had he returned, alone and defenseless, than a hostile commission was sent to the East to seize his treasures and to criminate his actions, and his body-guard of 6,000 picked men was broken up and distributed among the chiefs of the army. He was coldly received by the Emperor and Empress, and treated with insolence by the servile courtiers. He withdrew to his deserted palace, where even his wife, the intriguing Antonina, received him disdainfully. He retired to his chamber, in an agony of grief and terror, there to await the death sentence which he confidently expected; but the missive which came finally was a pardon from Theodora, professedly granted on the intercession of Antonina, and a permission to retain part of his treasures. The extravagant transports of gratitude with which he is said to have received this act of grace, are

little calculated to raise him in our estimation, and very likely have been exaggerated.

Soon after this Belisarius was sent to Italy, which had again been overrun by the Goths. But the force given him was entirely insufficient for the undertaking of reconquering Italy, nor did he subsequently receive efficient support from the Emperor. After five checkered campaigns he was compelled to retire from Italy into Sicily, and having remained there for some months in inactivity, he was permitted, after the death of Theodora, to return ingloriously to Constantinople. Belisarius was subsequently called upon to repel an invading body of Bulgarians, who had reached almost to the suburbs of Constantinople. But though successful in averting the impending calamity and received on his return to the city with the acclamations of the people, he met in the palace but a cool reception. After having been formally thanked by the Emperor, he withdrew again to a life of privacy.

Four years after this event a conspiracy against the life of the Emperor was discovered. Two of the persons implicated belonged to the household of Belisarius. They declared under torture that they had acted by authority of their master. Belisarius was adjudged guilty by the council before whom he appeared to meet the charge, and though his life was graciously spared, his property was sequestered, and for several months he was guarded as a prisoner in his own house. At length his innocence was acknowledged, his freedom and his honors were restored; but he lived only eight months to enjoy this vindication of his loyalty.

If much space has been given here to Belisarius, it is because his name is indissolubly linked with that of Justinian. Although on more than one occasion he was

in a position to raise successfully the standard of revolt, and although there were times when the bitterness of his traducers seemed to leave no other way of safety open to him, he never permitted himself to be seduced or driven from the path of his duty as a subject. That his marked ability and his great achievements should have rendered him a source of disquietude to Justinian and Theodora, who might not unreasonably have misgivings lest they trusted too implicitly to his apparent integrity and devotion to their interests, is easy to understand, and perhaps history has judged them too harshly for their seeming ingratitude toward the man who had done so much to make their reign glorious. They seem never to have proceeded against him beyond the point necessary for assuring their own safety. The pathetic story that the great General was deprived of his eye-sight and was reduced to beg—"Give a penny to Belisarius"—is a fiction of later times. That he was left in the enjoyment of property amply sufficient for all his necessities as a private citizen appears from the fact, that, though Justinian sequestered his estates after his death, enough treasure was left Antonina to enable her to found with it a monastery.

To go back now to the Italian War, this war was finally brought to a successful termination by the eunuch Narses, in the twenty-eighth year of Justinian's reign. The war had lasted through twenty years. It resulted in the complete overthrow of the power of the Goths; and Italy, with Ravenna as its capital, while Rome was reduced to the second rank, continued to be a part of the Eastern Empire, governed by exarchs appointed at Constantinople, until this Government was, in its turn, overthrown by the Lombards. In Africa, after a series of disturbances which had been provoked by the severity

of taxation imposed by Justinian upon his new subjects, and later by a war with the Moors, the power of the Emperor was firmly established. For above a century Carthage and the fruitful southern coast of the Mediterranean, continued to appertain to the Empire of the East. During the greater part of his reign Justinian was engaged in war with the Persian Chosroes. Both of these monarchs became weary of the fruitless struggle in their old age, and settled upon a peace—paid for as usual, by Justinian—which left the boundary between them substantially as it was in the beginning of their reigns.

Justinian lived but eight months after the death of Belisarius. He had reigned thirty-eight years and had reached the age of eighty-three. In his character there is little that is striking to be noted. He is described as of a well-proportioned figure, of a ruddy complexion, and a pleasing countenance. He was easy of access, patient of hearing, courteous and affable in his discourse. That he was not cruel or vindictive is proved by many acts of clemency toward those who had plotted against his life or power. He was a hard worker, applying himself diligently to the acquisition of knowledge as well as the dispatch of business. Justinian was a man of many and varied attainments. If he suppressed the schools of Athens, it was because he had the discernment to perceive that philosophy had degenerated sadly since the days of Zeno and Plato and had become simply a vehicle of pedantic and pernicious subtleties. His love of art was exhibited in the many beautiful edifices which he erected in all parts of his Empire. As a theologian, he attempted, though vainly, to reconcile the Christian sects. But it was as a lawyer and legislator that Justinian won his chief success. His great achievement,

and that upon which his fame mainly rests, was his review of the Roman jurisprudence. In giving some account of this monumental work we shall attempt little more than to abridge from the account given by Gibbon.

When Justinian ascended the throne the Roman jurisprudence was in a condition such as to render its reformation an absolute necessity. In the course of ten centuries the infinite variety of laws and legal opinions had filled many thousand volumes, which no fortune could purchase and no capacity could digest. Books could not easily be found; and the judges, poor in the midst of riches, were reduced to the exercise of their illiterate discretion. As a youth Justinian had made a special study of the laws, and upon ascending the throne he determined upon a work of reformation. In the first year of his reign he directed Tribonian—a man of extraordinary learning, the Bacon of his age—and nine learned associates, to revise the ordinances of his predecessors, as they were contained, since the time of Adrian, in the Gregorian, Hermogenian, and Theodosian codes; to purge the errors and contradictions, to retrench whatever was obsolete or superfluous, and to select the wise and salutary laws best adapted to the practice of the tribunals and the use of his subjects. The work was accomplished in fourteen months. The new *Code* of Justinian, comprised in twelve books, was honored with his name and confirmed by the royal signature. Authentic copies were multiplied by the hands of scribes, and were transmitted to the magistrates of the European and Asiatic, and afterward the African provinces; and the law of the Empire was proclaimed on solemn festivals at the doors of churches.

This work done, a still more difficult task remained —to extract the spirit of jurisprudence from the deci-

sions and conjectures, the questions and disputes, of the Roman civilians. Seventeen lawyers, with Tribonian at their head, were appointed by the Emperor to exercise an absolute jurisdiction over the works of their predecessors. This task they performed in the remarkably short space of three years. Its results were embodied in the *Digest of Pandects.* From the library of Tribonian they chose forty of the most eminent civilians of former times; two thousand treatises were comprised in an abridgment of fifty books; and it has been carefully recorded that three millions of lines or sentences were reduced, in this abstract, to the moderate number of one hundred and fifty thousand. As soon as the Emperor had approved their labors, he ratified by his legislative power the speculations of these private citizens. Their commentaries on the Twelve Tables, the laws of the people, and the decrees of the Senate succeeded to the authority of the original text, and this text was abandoned, as a useless, though venerable, relic of antiquity.

The *Code,* the *Pandects* and the *Institutes*—a work composed simultaneously with the Pandects—were now declared to be the legitimate system of civil jurisprudence, and they alone were admitted into the tribunals, and they alone were taught in the academies of Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus. Justinian addressed to the Senate and provinces his *eternal oracles;* and his pride, under the mask of piety, ascribed the consummation of this great design to the support and inspiration of the Deity.

These several works were designedly mere compilations. Justinian sought only to condense into a convenient form the existing laws, and to preserve faithfully their spirit, and he purposely abstained from any attempt at originality. In the selection of ancient laws, he seems

to have viewed his predecessors without jealousy and with equal regard. But the series did not ascend above the reign of Adrian. The civilians who lived under the first Cæsars are seldom permitted to speak, and only three names belong to the age of the Republic. The design was to select the useful and practical parts of the Roman law; and the writings of the old Republicans, however curious or excellent, were no longer suited to the new system of manners, religion, and government.

Six years had not elapsed from the publication of the Code, before Justinian condemned the imperfect attempt by a new and more accurate edition of the same work, which he enriched with two hundred of his own laws, and with fifty decisions of the darkest and most intricate points of jurisprudence. Every year, or, according to Procopius, each day, was marked by some legal innovation. Many of his acts were rescinded by himself, many have been obliterated by time; but the number of sixteen *Edicts,* and 168 *Novels* has been admitted into the authentic body of the civil jurisprudence.

The character of the *Code* and of the *Pandects* has already been indicated. In the *Institutes* the laws are classified under four headings—I, *Persons;* II, *Things;* III, *Actions;* IV, *Private Wrongs,* terminated by the principles of *Criminal Law.*

Justinian doubtless looked forward beyond his own time; but he can hardly have realized fully the ultimate value and influence of the work he so diligently set himself to perform. Through his agency the spirit of the old Roman law has been transfused into the domestic institutions of all Europe. The *Civil Law,* as set forth in the Code of Justinian, is still the basis of jurisprudence in most of the Continental countries of Europe, holding the place of the *Common Law* of England in that country and its colonies and in the United States.

MAHOMET

570-632

THE RISE OF MOHAMMEDANISM

The rocky, sandy, and generally desolate peninsula of Arabia preserved its political independence through all historical time, for the simple reason that it was not deemed worth the cost of conquering. Yet out of this land, which had been despised and neglected successively by Assyria, by Persia, by Rome, and Greece, at a time when danger in this quarter seemed the most remote of possibilities, a band of conquerors, organized and inspired by an illiterate religious fanatic, issued forth, who in the short space of a single generation had overturned the monarchies of the East, and whose successors within less than a century ruled over an Empire more extensive than that of Rome in her palmiest days.

Before we take up the story of this fanatic—prophet or impostor—the founder of Mohammedanism, or Islam, as the religion of Mahomet is styled by his followers, a few words should be said regarding the condition of Arabia at the time of the prophet's birth.

Arabia was then, as now, occupied by independent tribes, acknowledging no national government, but each tribe or family being ruled by its own chief. Some of these tribes were wanderers of the desert; others were located in towns. But even in these cases there was no general, municipal government, but each family maintained its independence, their peaceful association being simply a matter of mutual interest, and harmony being

preserved so long as no family interfered with the affairs of another. In religion there was the same lack of nationality as in government. The worship was idolatrous. Each family or tribe had its own ancestral gods, which were regarded as its special patrons, and to whom alone its devotions were paid. All, however, acknowledged the existence of a supreme, presiding Deity, Allah; but this being was never the object of worship, though it was by Allah, as a Deity common to all the tribes, that solemn oaths were sworn, and in his name treaties and covenants were sealed.

The Arabian heathenism was a traditional form of worship concentrated in feasts at holy places. The most important of these holy places was at Mecca. Here around a mysterious black stone, the greatest of the Arabian fetiches, had been built the Kaba; and here pilgrims from all the surrounding country were wont to assemble annually, in the days before the full moon of the month Dhu, for a solemn religious festival. The town of Mecca had grown up around the sacred Kaba. In this town and in its immediate neighborhood were settled the tribe Koraish. The great festival of the Kaba presented strong attractions for the inhabitants of the western coast of Arabia, and grew into a great fair, at which the Meccans sold to the Bedouins of the desert the goods they imported from Syria. Feast and fair gave the city a prosperity which it shared with Medina and other cities which, like Mecca, lay near the meeting place of the two great roads to Yemen—that from the northwest along the Red Sea coast, and that from the northeast, along the line of mountains that traverse central Arabia.

But the great fair of Mecca was not restricted to the Arabs. Arabia was a land of religious freedom, and

hither fled the persecuted of all creeds. The religion of the Sabians, and Magians, of the Jews and Christians, were disseminated from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. The fair, if not the festival, was open to all who had goods to sell or who wished to buy, and during the month of its continuance it was thronged with merchants of every variety of religious creed.

Such was Mecca at the time of the birth of the future prophet. Mahomet, or Mohammed, as the name is sometimes written, belonged to the family of Hashem, one of the subdivisions of the tribe Koraish. In his early infancy he was deprived of both his father and his mother—Abdallah and Amina—and his uncles being numerous, his orphan's share in the division of the inheritance was reduced to five camels and an Ethiopian maid servant. Abu-Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, became the guardian of his youth. At the age of twenty-five he entered the service of a rich widow, Kadijah, who soon rewarded his faithful service with the gift of her hand in marriage. The marriage was happy and was blest with children, one of whom was his daughter Fatima, whom he gave in marriage to his cousin Ali.

Mahomet appears to have made two journeys into Syria—once, when but thirteen years of age, to Bosra with the caravan of his uncle, and a second, to Damascus, in the service of Kadijah. Except for these two journeys, the sphere of his early experience was confined to the limits of his own city.

But even in this city there was much to be learned and much to excite thought. Mahomet was of a contemplative nature. In the superficial forms of worship and the entire lack of true religious feeling, which he saw on all sides, it seemed to him that the religion of the Arabs had become degenerate and effete. There

seemed to be need for a substitute for a lost religion; nor was Mahomet the only one nor the first to whom this thought had occurred. So many, indeed, were they who at this time were giving thought to the subject of revival of religion that they had been given a distinctive name—*haniffs*, which seems to mean "penitents." The haniffs did not constitute a regular sect and had, in fact, no fixed and organized views. They were not a close society, though they, no doubt, held intercourse with one another and an interchange of thought, and they seem to have been more numerous in Medina even than in Mecca. Upon one point, however, they were agreed; they rejected polytheism and acknowledged Allah; and their monotheism seems, too, to have been closely allied to a conviction of responsibility to the Deity and of a coming judgment. They believed, too, in the efficacy of fasting and penance; they were ascetics.

That Mahomet began early to associate with this class of religionists, there can be no doubt. He found in them congenial companions; he became himself a haniff. He withdrew himself frequently to a cave in Mount Hira, and meditated there with prayer and ascetic exercise, and finally he was rewarded with visions.

As to these visions of Mahomet, which became an essential feature of his mission as a prophet, whether they were real—the effect of an ecstatic state of mind into which he was thrown by fasting and prayer, or more strictly by brooding on a single idea, or were fabrications, it may not be possible to say. It rests, however, upon testimony which seems unquestionable that he was subject to fits, or stupors, which threw him for a time into a swoon, without loss of inner consciousness, and it is quite possible that he may himself have believed

A READING FROM THE KORAN.

that at these times his soul was actually relieved of its corporal incumbrance, and went forth into the spiritual world. There is so much chance for self deception, as well as for fraud, in phenomena of this sort, which are still not infrequent, that in his case we must suspend our judgment. But his visions came in his later years so frequently at moments opportune for serving his political or private purposes, that we cannot acquit him of the charge in some instances, at least, of pure imposture.

Mahomet had already reached the fortieth year of his age before he received his first vision and his divine mission was forced upon him. It was in the month Ramadan. He was in the cave of Hira, engaged in his pious meditations, when the angel Gabriel came to him by night, as he slept, held before him an open volume bound in silk and gems, and compelled him, though he could not read, to recite a text which was written therein. The words which Gabriel thus taught him remained deeply graven upon his heart. They were the first of a long series of revelations, brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel, and delivered in the same way. Mahomet himself could not write; but the words of the divine revelation, repeated by him, were recorded by his disciples on palm-leaves and shoulder bones of mutton, and the pages, without order or connection, were cast into a chest in the custody of one of his wives. Two years after his death, the sacred volume—the Koran—was collected and published by his friend and successor, Abubeker, and was subsequently revised by the Caliph Osman. A volume thus composed and thus edited must necessarily consist of disconnected passages. Each revelation had been adapted to some particular occasion, as policy or passion dictated; but all inconsist-

encies are avoided by a saving maxim that any passage of Scripture is abrogated or modified by any subsequent passage.

The first converts of Mahomet were his wife, Kadijah, his servant, Zaid, his cousin, Ali, and his devoted friend, who became his successor, Abubeker. By the persuasion of Abubeker ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private teachings of Mahomet. These fourteen disciples were the sole fruits of the first three years of his mission.

The creed taught by Mahomet in these first years was a simple one. "There is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God," to which was added the truth of a resurrection, and a final judgment. Mahomet laid no claim to being the sole apostle of God, however. He allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself. He recognized a chain of inspiration from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran. In that period 313 apostles had been sent to recall their country from idolatry and vice, among whom were six of transcendent merit—Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet. Whoever hated or rejected one of these was to be numbered with the infidels. As the views of Mahomet expanded, or as the exigencies of his situation became more pressing, he enlarged upon this simple creed. He repressed sin or encouraged virtue by revealing the conditions of the future life. The unbelieving and the wicked were, at the final judgment, condemned, according to their guilt, to one of the seven hells, not, however, for eternity, but until they had become purified by terms of expiation, which varied in length from 900 to 7,000 years. All would be finally saved. In his picture of the joys of paradise it has been justly charged against

Mahomet that he sought to bind to him his followers by the prospect of sensual delights. In the Paradise of Mahomet were to be found all luxuries which might appeal to the ardent wishes of his rude and sensual followers from the desert—groves of palms, with never failing springs of water, robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, numerous attendants, in a word, all for which the poor in this life are accustomed to envy the rich. And most seductive of all, seventy-two Houris, or black-eyed girls of resplendent beauty, and blooming with youth, would be created for the service of the meanest believer; a moment of pleasure would be prolonged to a thousand years, and his faculties would be increased a hundred fold to render him worthy of his felicity.

But if Mahomet pictured to the believer the future in alluring colors he cannot be charged with having won followers by granting them indulgence in this life. He forbade the use of wine; he put a ban upon incontinence —in others, while he granted himself a scandalous dispensation from this salutary moral law. The imposition upon the followers of Islam of frequent prayers, with which no employment nor circumstance must be permitted to interfere, can hardly have been an allurement to his earliest converts. Mahomet forbade the use of images, and he taught that all places are equally suited for the performance of this act of devotion. But since it was desirable that the thoughts of the worshiper should be fixed at that moment upon something sacred, he was instructed while in prayer to turn his face toward a particular point in the horizon. The point first selected by Mahomet as the *kebla* of prayer was Jerusalem. But when later he found the Jews obstinately set against the new faith he offered them, he changed his preference

for the long established shrine of Arabia. Five times daily—at morning, at noon, in the afternoon, at nightfall, and in the evening—the true Moslem, wherever he may be, in whatever land or situation, desists from his work or his pleasure, on a given signal, if he is within a city, and turns his face in a formal prayer toward Mecca. The old Arab fetich enclosed in the Kaba was chosen by Mahomet as the only visible object which might supply the want of an image of Allah.

After three years had been passed in teaching in the privacy of his own household, Mahomet decided that the time had come for entering publicly upon his prophetic mission. He prepared a banquet, to which he invited forty guests of the family of Hashem. "Friends and kinsmen," he said, "I offer you, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the world to come. God has commanded me to call you to His service. Who among you will support my burden; who will be my companion and my vizier?" And when no one answered, the silence of astonishment was at length broken by Ali, then a youth in the fourteenth year of his age. "Oh, Prophet, I am the man; I will be thy vizier." Mahomet accepted his offer with transport, and when Abu Taleb, the father of Ali, advised his nephew to relinquish his impracticable design, he replied, "Spare your remonstrances, for though they should place the sun on my right hand, the moon on my left, they should not divert me from my course."

For ten years Mahomet labored in Mecca and its neighborhood in a vain effort to convert the tribe Koraish. Though his infant congregation was soon swelled by the addition of hundreds of new adherents, they were mostly among the poor and the slaves. The great men

of the city turned from him or worked against him. But in the seventh year of his mission his cause was strengthened by the conversion of Hamza, an uncle, and Omar, one of those who had the most violently opposed him. His practice was to make public exhortations, particularly on the days of the great festival, denouncing idolatry, and calling the Arabs to repentance and to the worship of Allah. These continual assaults upon irreligion and superstition raised violent clamors against him. Even Aber Taleb openly opposed him and urged the people not to listen to the tempter, but to stand for their idols; still the tie of kinship is strong among the Arabs, and though Abu Taleb detested the teaching of his nephew he protected his person against the assaults of the Koraish; it was a matter of family honor.

At length the outcry against Mahomet, who was openly charged with the guilt of deserting and denying the national deities, became so violent that many of his followers sought safety in flight. Some went to Medina; some crossed the sea to Abyssina. But the prophet himself remained undaunted at his post. There was no way in which the Koraish could reach the criminal save through the authority of his family; and since that continued to shelter him, they determined on the extreme measure of renouncing all intercourse with the children of Hashem, and a decree to that effect was suspended in the Kaba. A truce restored, however, an appearance of concord, until the death of Abu Taleb abandoned Mahomet to the power of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived of his domestic comforts by the loss of his faithful Kadijah. At the same time Abu Soptian, a zealous votary of the idols and a mortal enemy of the house of Hashem, succeeded to the headship of the Koraish and the doom of Mahomet was

sealed. His death was resolved upon; and, to baffle the vengeance of the Hashemites, it was agreed that a sword from every member of the tribe should be buried in his heart. Mahomet fled from the city in the night, accompanied by his faithful friend Abubeker, and took refuge in a cave. Here they remained three days, while Ali, who had stayed behind, secretly kept them informed of the movements of the Koraish. When at length they were told that the search for them had ended, the two fugitives came out of their place of concealment, mounted their camels and took the road to Medina. The flight of the prophet from Mecca has fixed the Mohammed era of the *Hegira*. It occurred in the thirteenth year after the prophet received his divine commission in the cave of Hira, and in the year A. D. 622.

The flight to Medina had already been contemplated and provided for. The faith of Islam had taken deeper root there than in the prophet's own city. Carried thither first by the refugees from Mecca, it was afterward introduced by several of the noblest citizens of Medina, who were converted by Mahomet in a pilgrimage to the Kaba. On their return they diffused the belief of God and his prophet, and an alliance between him and the city was ratified by their deputies in two secret nocturnal interviews on a hill in the suburbs of Mecca. In the first was effected simply a union in faith and love. The second was an alliance of a political nature, and laid the foundation of the Empire of the Saracens. Seventy-three men and two women of Medina, in this secret conference with Mahomet and his disciples pledged themselves by an oath of fidelity, and promised in the name of their city that, should he be banished, they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the last extremity, like their wives and

children. The time had come now when their pledge should be redeemed. In sixteen days after leaving Mecca, Mahomet arrived at Koba, two miles distant from Medina. Five hundred citizens came out to meet him, and escorted him into the city with acclamations of loyalty and devotion. Mahomet was mounted upon a camel, an umbrella shaded his head, and a turban was unfurled before him—the prototype of the white standard of the Moslems.

Mahomet was at once installed in the office of both temporal and spiritual ruler; and it was held impious to appeal from the decisions of a judge whose decrees were inspired by divine wisdom. One of his first acts was to build a small mosque, where he weekly preached and prayed to the assembly of his voluntary subjects.

Medina was then divided between two tribes, the Aus and the Khazraj, who were embittered against each other by an hereditary feud, which broke out upon the slightest provocation. Only the year before the arrival of Mahomet a bloody conflict had occurred between them within the walls of the city. This occurrence seems to have had much to do with the reception of Mahomet, both parties recognizing the desirability of having an arbiter in whose wisdom and justice they could confide, to keep peace between them. There were besides in Medina three colonies of Jews. Mahomet was predisposed in favor of this people, whom he hoped to draw to his standard. But his attempts to convert the Jews of Medina failed completely, and from this time the race became the object of his peculiar aversion, which ere long fell with heavy weight on their Arab colonies.

Mahomet spent his first year at Medina in consolidating his power. Once placed in a position to com-

mand, he changed his policy as a prophet. Hitherto he had used persuasion only; he determined now that what mild means had not been able to accomplish should be effected by force. If the idolators would not repent they should be compelled to repent; Islam should be spread by the sword.

He began his career of conquest—his holy war, if such he regarded it—with robbery, a profession not, however, wholly dishonorable from the point of view of an Arab. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder. The distribution of the spoil was regulated by a divine law. One-fifth of it was reserved by the prophet for pious and charitable purposes. The remainder was shared by the soldiers who had obtained the victory or guarded the camp; and that no inducement might be lacking, the usual license of brutal soldiers was granted in the treatment of captives.

His most famous enterprise of this kind was directed against his old enemy, Abu Sophian. This wealthy and powerful citizen of Mecca, with only thirty or forty followers, conducted a valuable caravan of a thousand camels. By good fortune he escaped the vigilance of Mahomet. But he learned that the holy robber would lay in wait for him on his return. He dispatched a messenger to Mecca, and his Koraishite brethren hastened to his relief with the military force of the city. The band of Mahomet was formed of 313 men, of whom a part were his followers, a part auxiliaries. He met the advancing enemy, 900 strong, in the vale of Beder, a favorite camping and watering place northward from Medina. The Moslems entrenched themselves; the Koraish attacked. The faithful were hard pressed and were weakening, when the prophet suddenly mounted

his horse and cast a handful of sand into the air: "Let their faces be covered with confusion." Both armies heard the thunder of his voice, and their fancy beheld angelic warriors. The Koraish fled, leaving seventy dead on the field and seventy captives. The victor dispatched a company of Moslems in pursuit of Abu Sophian, who was attempting to reach Mecca by a circuitous route. He was overtaken and his caravan was plundered. Twenty thousand drams were set apart from the plunder for the use of the apostle.

This affair of Beder was of particular importance, since it greatly strengthened the power of Mahomet, which henceforward was absolute at Medina.

Mahomet was in a position now to break up the colonies of the Jews. His operations against these unfortunates, who were too weak to offer much resistance and who would not surrender their faith, may be disposed of here once for all, though they extended over a series of years. He addressed himself first to the weak colony of the Banu Kainoka, settled in Medina, demanding their acceptance of Islam. They refused, were besieged, and, after a short defense, surrendered at discretion. They were fortunate in finding a powerful intercessor. Mahomet spared their lives and contented himself with their banishment from the city. Two years later the Banu Nadir were expelled from Medina in the same way, with the additional penalty of the confiscation of their lands. There was still another colony of Jews in Medina, the Koraiza. During the siege of Medina, to be presently related, these unfortunates fell under the displeasure of Mahomet, for real or alleged correspondence with the enemy, and no sooner was the siege raised than he wreaked upon them a terrible vengeance. Bound in chains, they were brought one by

one to the market place and were there executed. They numbered six or seven hundred, and to carry out the barbarous sentence was the work of a whole day. Some accounts say that they were buried alive. No more magnificent martyrdom is known in history, for these men could have saved their lives by embracing Islam. Other Jewish colonies in this region of Arabia, outside of Medina, were successively attacked and all were driven beyond the border of Arabia into Syria. No Jew ever accepted the religion of Mahomet.

In the year following the victory of Beder the Koraish mustered the resolution to avenge their defeat and the loss of the caravan. Led by Abu Sophian, they marched upon Medina. Mahomet led his little army out to oppose them and posted it skillfully on a declivity of Mount Ohud, six miles north of the city. The Koraish advanced in the form of a crescent, their right wing of cavalry led by Kaled, the fiercest and most successful of the Arabian warriors. The Moslems charged and broke the center of the idolaters; but no sooner had they gained this success than, tempted by the sight of booty, they disobeyed their general and broke their ranks. Kaled was quick to take advantage of their disorder and charged upon them in the flank and the rear. In the mêlée which followed Mahomet himself was wounded in the face with a javelin; two of his teeth were shattered with a stone, and for some time he lay for dead upon the ground. But the Moslems finally rallied and remained masters of the field. Seventy of their number had fallen, among them Hamza, the uncle of Mahomet. His liver was cut out and carried to the wife of Abu Sophian. After this fight the Koraish gave up their design upon Medina and turned homeward.

In the following year they returned to the attack,

again led by Abu Sophian, with a force which, including allies, amounted to 10,000 men. Mahomet decided not to risk an engagement, but to stand a siege. The war lasted but twenty days. It was brought to a close partly by the withdrawal of the confederates of the Koraish and partly by a violent storm of wind, rain, and hail which spread devastation and dismay through their camp. The Koraish, deserted by their allies, no longer hoped to subvert the throne of their invincible exile, and again returned to Mecca.

It was the turn of Mahomet now to assume the offensive. His successes had gathered about him a considerable military force. He longed to return as a conqueror to the city from which he had been expelled. His expedition was given, however, the character of a pilgrimage to the ancient shrine. But the Koraish had no disposition to admit within their walls a pilgrim backed by a formidable army, and they prepared to oppose him. The result was a parley and a treaty, whereby Mahomet obtained permission to enter the city in the following year, as a friend, and to remain there three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage, but in return for this concession he waived his title of apostle of God. A cloud of shame and dejection hung on the retreat of the Moslem after this doubtful success. But the faith and hopes of the pilgrims were rekindled when at the stipulated time they entered Mecca, with swords sheathed, and seven times, in the footsteps of the prophet, marched around the Kaba. The Koraish had prudently retired from the city to the neighboring hills. After the customary sacrifice, Mahomet evacuated the city on the fourth day.

This ostentatious act of devotion had a powerful effect upon the enemies as well as upon the followers of

Mahomet. Both Kaled and Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, deserted the sinking cause of idolatry to follow the fortunes of the prophet. His power was further increased by the submission of several of the Arab tribes. The truce with the Koraish had been made for ten years; but Mahomet easily found a pretext for charging them with its violation, and with an army of 10,000 men he marched to the conquest of Mecca. The Koraish, unprepared and in dismay, admitted him to the city, with no attempt at resistance. Abu Sophian presented the keys, observed that the son of Abdallah had acquired a mighty Kingdom, and confessed, under the scimiter of Omar, that he was the apostle of God.

Mahomet had no intention of wreaking vengeance upon the city of his birth. Twenty-eight of its people were slain by the sword of Kaled; and eleven men and six women were proscribed by the sentence of Mahomet. There his severity ended. The Koraish were prostrate at his feet. They earned their pardon by the profession of Islam; and after an exile of seven years the fugitive missionary was enthroned as prince and prophet of his native country. The three hundred and sixty idols of the Kaba were destroyed. The prophet again performed the duties of a pilgrim; and a perpetual law was enacted that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot within the precincts of the holy city.

The fame and power of Mahomet now brought to him the allegiance of the greater number of the Arab tribes. They had only to renounce their idols and to accept Islam to be admitted on an equal footing with his old adherents to a participation in the spoils of a war of conquest. The few tribes which ventured upon resistance were speedily reduced by arms, and the creed which

they would not accept willingly was imposed upon them by force. In vain they pleaded for a compromise, for some concession. Ten ambassadors from the besieged city of Taif proceeded to Medina to make terms of submission. They asked that fornication, usury, and wine-drinking should be permitted to their people. But Mahomet was inflexible, and they consented reluctantly to surrender the point when they were told that, indispensable as these three practices might seem, other Moslems had learned to give them up. There was more difficulty about the goddess of Taif, al-Lat. The ambassadors begged that as a concession to the foolish multitude, they might retain her for three years. When they found Mahomet resolute, they came down successively to two years, one year, a month. Even this was refused. Mahomet's sole concession was that they should not be obliged to destroy the goddess with their own hands. The city surrendered. The emissaries of Mahomet entered and destroyed the idol, and thereafter the people of Taif were worshipers of Allah.

Within three years after his conquest of Mecca all Arabia, apart from the vassals of Greece and Persia, was at the feet of the prophet. His lieutenants on the shores of the Red Sea, the ocean, and Gulf of Persia were saluted by the acclamations of a faithful people; and the ambassadors who knelt before the throne of Medina were "as numerous as the dates that fall from the maturity of a palm tree." The tribute which poured in upon the sovereign of Arabia from his grateful or submissive subjects was applied to the service of religion. In the tenth year of the Hegira he paid another visit to Mecca, which was like a very triumph. One hundred and fourteen thousand Moslems accompanied this, which was to be the last pilgrimage of the prophet.

The aims of Mahomet had already begun to widen. The conquest of Arabia no longer sufficed him, and he prepared to extend the holy war to the Greeks. Even before his truce with the Koraishites, he had sent envoys to foreign potentates, demanding their adhesion to Islam. One of these envoys had been seized and beheaded at Belka, in Palestine. This outrage afforded him a pretext, as soon as he felt himself strong enough, for sending an expedition into that country. An army of 3,000 soldiers was intrusted to the command of Zaid, and such was the discipline of the rising sect that the noblest chiefs served without reluctance under the former slave of the prophet. Jaafer was made second in command and Abdallah third. All three were killed in the battle of Muta. The day was saved, and victory or, at least, a safe retreat, was secured by the fierce and intrepid Kaled, who, for his valiant action on this hotly contested field, became known thereafter as the "Sword of God."

In the summer following this unsuccessful invasion of Palestine, the Nabatæans who visited the fair of Medina spread a rumor that the Emperor Heraclius was collecting troops for the purpose of invading Arabia. At the head of an army of 10,000 horse and 20,000 foot Mahomet set forth to prevent the intended invasion. After a distressing march, in which thirst and fatigue were aggravated by the scorching and pestilential winds of the desert, the Moslems finally reached Tabuk, midway between Medina and Damascus. Beyond that point Mahomet declined to prosecute the war, either convinced of the peaceful intentions of the Emperor or more probably daunted by his martial preparation. But this expedition was not without results. His lieutenant, Kaled, spread the terror of his name, and the prophet

received the submission of the tribes and cities bordering on Arabia from the Euphrates to the head of the Red Sea.

After the return of Mahomet from his last pilgrimage to Mecca, he began preparations for a more formidable invasion of Palestine. He had now reached the age of sixty-three. During the last four years his health had gradually failed. He had been poisoned, he believed, out of revenge by a Jewish woman. His mortal illness, however, was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him at intervals of the use of his reason. The scenes which took place about his death bed form a favorite theme with his Mussulman biographers. They expatiate upon his humility, the tranquil firmness with which he met his end, his expressed desire to right any wrong he might have done to anyone, the consolation offered to his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. Mahomet had never laid a claim to be exempted from the common lot of mortals, though he had asserted, as his especial prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul until he had obtained the express permission of the prophet. The permission was granted at the proper time; and Mahomet breathed his last, with his head resting in the lap of Ayesha,* the daughter of Abubeker, the best beloved of his wives.

The death of Mahomet stopped the preparation for the expedition for the conquest of Syria, and filled the city with gloom and lamentation. Many of his followers refused to believe him dead, in spite of the testimony of their own senses. The fiery Omar unsheathed his scimiter and threatened to strike off the head of the infidel who should affirm that the prophet was no more.

* See Vol. "Famous Women of the World."

But the tumult was appeased by the more rational Abubeker. "Is it Mahomet," he said to Omar and the multitude, "or the God of Mahomet whom you worship? The God of Mahomet liveth forever; but the apostle himself was a mortal man like ourselves, and according to his own prediction he has experienced the common fate of mortality." He was piously buried by the hands of his nearest kinsmen in the same spot in which he had expired, in Medina. Innumerable pilgrims of Mecca turn aside from their journey to bow, in involuntary devotion, before the simple tomb of the prophet.

Tradition describes Mahomet as unsurpassable in manly beauty. His physique was majestic, his aspect noble. A flowing beard, a piercing eye, a gracious smile set off a countenance which reflected every sensation of the soul; and to these physical advantages, which won for him admiration in public or private even before he began to speak, was added an earnest eloquence, whose persuasiveness was irresistible. In his social relations he adhered scrupulously to the ceremonious politeness of his countrymen, was respectful in his attention to the rich and powerful, yet affable with the poorest citizen of Mecca. His judgment was clear, rapid, and decisive; his imagination sublime.

While aspiring to the power of royalty, Mahomet cared nothing for its pomp and ceremonial. It is recorded of him that when at the height of his authority he adhered to the domestic habits of his earlier life—kindled the fire, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and woolen garments. On solemn occasions he feasted his companions with rustic hospitality and abundance; but in his private life many weeks would elapse without the fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was

confirmed by his own example; but the case was otherwise with that which regarded the conjugal relation. The Koran permitted polygamy, but the number of wives which the faithful might cherish was limited to four. Mahomet released himself from this provision. His wives numbered fifteen or seventeen; his amours were without restriction or limit.

That Mahomet was not an impostor, nor even a fanatic, in the stricter sense, at least in the earlier part of his career, but was simply a conscientious religious enthusiast, is the judgment now rendered by historians, with scarcely a dissentient voice. It is impossible that in the beginning he should have foreseen the outcome of his teaching. Clearly his view was limited at first to his fellow citizens at Mecca. He labored earnestly for what he believed to be their spiritual welfare; and that in time he should have come to believe himself intrusted with a divine mission is not merely conceivable, but upon no other assumption can we explain his earlier successes. It was the earnestness of his own conviction that secured to him his first fourteen converts among his most intimate associates. But his view widened as his success increased. His career as a judge and a ruler at Medina was in a manner forced upon him; and when once he had entered upon the path which led to power, when once his ambition had become aroused, his character as a prophet was subordinated to that of a politician. In this new character he lies open to the charge of gross hypocrisy, for it is hardly conceivable that he should himself have believed in pretended revelations which had no other purpose than to further his ambitious ends. Religion became subordinate to his thirst for power, and in the pursuit of this object he was guilty at times of the grossest deeds of cruelty and vindictiveness, which can

be excused by no plea of necessity and which have left an indelible stain upon his memory.

The question has often been discussed whence Mahomet obtained the various ideas which he worked into his own peculiar system of religion. His monotheism he found already existing in Arabia, though overshadowed by idolatry. The great fair of Mecca brought annually to that city representatives of all creeds, and the philosophical enthusiast would naturally inform himself of the peculiarities of each. He adopted the patriarchal history of the Jews. His ideas regarding a resurrection and a final judgment may have come from a Christian source, while from the Sabians, the representatives of the old Chaldæans, he obtained his conception of seven Heavens and seven Hells. In two particulars, at least, his views display originality, in both instances apparently with an eye to their effect upon his adherents. The seventy Houris of Paradise were plainly invented as an allurement to the Arabs, and by limiting the duration of future punishment, he left assurance of final salvation to even the most sinful of his followers.

POPE GREGORY VII

1020-1085

MAINTAINS THE PAPAL SUPREMACY

Gregory VII, St. (originally named Hildebrand), born at Soana, a town of Tuscany, was the son of Benzo, of the illustrious family of the Aldobrandeschi, one of the most powerful in the duchy and possessing numerous towns and castles. This is the statement of Novaes; but some authorities make Hildebrand to have been the son of a carpenter in this same town of Soane. . At an early age he entered a Benedictine abbey, where study made him one of the most learned monks of the time. His merits led to his appointment as sub-deacon in the Roman Church by Pope Leo IX, who was, like himself, a Benedictine. Victor II, another Benedictine, to honor one who had become a member of his order, sent Hildebrand as legate to France. Nicholas II showed his appreciation of the ability, eloquence and ecclesiastical learning of the monk of Soane by creating him cardinal-archdeacon of St. Mary in Dominica, in 1059. Already the esteem in which Hildebrand was held for his learning and sanctity foreshadowed his elevation to the papal throne. In 1061 Alexander II appointed Cardinal Hildebrand vice-chancellor of the Roman Church; and, finally, upon the death of Alexander, the common voice of the people and clergy proclaimed him as Pope, and the cardinals united in confirming the choice. Hildebrand was then sixty years of age.

Gregory hastened to notify the German Emperor,

Henry IV, of his election, the papal authority being at that time subordinate to that of the Emperor and his sanction being necessary to render valid the action of the cardinals. There is a dispute, however, among the biographers of Gregory as to the purport of his message to the Emperor, some maintaining that the notification was not obligatory, but was simply an act of courtesy. The point is of some interest, since Gregory soon became involved in a quarrel with the Emperor over this very matter of supremacy, which continued through the whole time of his occupancy of the papal See. But however this may be, Henry sent a bishop to be present at Gregory's consecration.

The newly-elected Pope was ordained priest in the Basilica of the Lateran, and then consecrated in the Vatican, on the 29th of June, 1073. He took the name Gregory VII in memory of Gregory VI, who had been his preceptor.

Gregory entered upon his duties as Pope with the determination to correct certain abuses which had crept into the Church, and, above all, to free the Church if possible from the control of temporal power—to establish its supremacy over the State. In March, 1074, a council was held at Rome which condemned the simony which had grown so prevalent in the Church, and reënacted the old laws of celibacy, which had become almost a dead letter, especially in Germany and the north of Italy. It was declared that no priest could take a wife; that holy orders should be conferred upon such only as would profess perpetual celibacy, and that no married man should assist at the priest's mass. The clergy resisted these decrees, but in vain. The papal legates visited every country and, supported by the popular voice, compelled submission.

In a second council, held during the Lent of 1075, it was decreed that whoever had received any grade or office of holy orders in consideration of any present could no longer exercise his ministry in the churches; and that all those who received from laymen the investiture of the Church should be excommunicated, as well as the lay donors. The decree was aimed directly at certain German bishops, Henry's personal advisers, who were pointed out by name as habitually guilty of simony and incontinence. The Emperor was indignant at what he regarded as an insult to his authority; but his hands were tied at the moment by a revolt in Saxony, and, prudently dissembling his displeasure, he dismissed his advisers, at the same time sending a remonstrance to Gregory.

Meanwhile Gregory had trouble in Italy. During the Christmas festivals of 1075 a revolt was organized by Quintius, son of the Prefect of Rome, who with his soldiers burst in upon Gregory, as he was celebrating High Mass at the altar of St. Mary Major. The Pope was severely wounded, was stripped of his pontifical robes and was dragged to prison. But the people, faithful to their pontiff, rushed to arms and delivered him. The assassin Quintius was seized, was brought before the Pope and compelled to fall upon his knees and ask pardon for his odious crime. Gregory pardoned him and only imposed, as a penance, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Gregory next sent an embassy to Henry, in 1076, summoning him to appear before a council to be held in the second week of Lent, there to answer to the charge of simony, sacrilege, and oppression, with a threat of excommunication if he refused. Henry was furious; he dismissed the Pope's legates with insult.

Subsequently he sent a letter to the Pope in which, among other things, he said:

"When I expected from you the treatment of a father, I learned that you were acting as one of my greatest enemies. You have deprived me of the respect due me from your See, and by your evil arts you have endeavored to deprive me of my kingdom of Italy. You have not scrupled to lay hands upon my bishops and to treat them with indignity. To repress such insolence, not by words but by acts, I have assembled all the nobles of my kingdom, and I have followed their advice, which seemed to be just. I renounce you as Pope and as patrician of Rome, and command you to leave the See."

The reply to this letter was a sentence of excommunication. This act produced a powerful effect upon the German Princes and people, many of whom had good cause to resent Henry's tyranny, and one by one the bishops who had announced their withdrawal from Gregory's obedience and who had been included in the sentence of excommunication, signified their contrition and made terms with the Pope. At a diet held at Tribur, in September, 1076, the Princes of the Empire notified Henry that they would withdraw their allegiance from him unless the ban was removed within a year and a day, and the election of a new Emperor began to be discussed.

Before the election of Rudolph, Gregory had announced an intention to visit Germany. The Emperor Henry, on his part, promised to come into Italy. The Pope left Rome with an escort furnished by Matilda, the Countess of Tuscany, daughter of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, and proceeded to Vercelli. It was feared by some that Henry would appear at the head of an army,

and Gregory deemed it prudent to retire into the fortress of Canossa, which belonged to the Countess Matilda, in order that he might be secure from violence.

Henry had spent nearly two months at Spires in a profound and melancholy solitude. The weight of the excommunication lay heavy upon him; his supporters were falling from him. Weary of this state of uncertainty, he determined to win over the Pope and to attempt to reëstablish himself at home by an apparent act of piety and a formal humiliation; for the decree of excommunication declared that it should be withdrawn if the Emperor appeared before the Pope within a year from the date of the decree. He set out for Italy, accompanied only by his wife and a few attendants, and, crossing the Alps in the severest of midwinter weather, arrived at Placentia.

At this town he was met by the Countess Matilda, accompanied by Hugo, bishop of Cluny. Matilda was desirous of restoring harmony between the Pope and the Emperor. Gregory seemed to desire that Henry should return to Augsburg, to be judged by the diet. The envoys of the Emperor replied: "Henry does not fear to be judged; he knows that the Pope will protect innocence and justice; but the anniversary of the excommunication is at hand; and if the ban be not removed the Emperor, according to the laws of the land, will lose his crown. The Prince humbly requests the Holy Father to raise the interdict, and to restore him to the communion of the Church. He is ready to give every satisfaction that the Pope shall require; to present himself at such place and at such time as the Pope shall order, and to commit himself entirely to the decision of the head of the Church."

Having received permission to advance, he was not

long on the way. The fortress had triple inclosures. Henry was conducted into the second. His retinue remained outside the fort. He had laid aside the insignia of royalty, and nothing announced his rank. All day long Henry, bareheaded, clad in penitential garb, and fasting from morning till night, awaited the sentence of the sovereign pontiff. Thus he waited through a second and a third day. During the intervening time he had not ceased to negotiate. On the morning of the fourth day, Matilda interceded with the Pope in behalf of Henry, and the conditions of a treaty were settled. The Prince promised to give satisfaction to the complaints made against him by his subjects, and he took an oath, in which his sureties joined. Then the pontiff gave him the benediction and the apostolic peace, and celebrated Mass. No historical incident ever impressed more profoundly the Western World than this humiliation of the German Emperor. It marked the highest point reached by papal authority and presents a vivid picture of the awe inspired during the Middle Ages by the supernatural powers supposed to be wielded by the Church.

When the Pope had finished Mass, he invited the Emperor to dinner, treated him with much attention, and dismissed him in peace to his own people, who had remained outside the castle.

The ban had been removed. But the humble submission of the Emperor did not secure for him all the advantages he had expected of it. He was accused of weakness by many of his adherents. The disaffected leaders among his subjects doubted his sincerity; or perhaps they had advanced too far with their scheme for his deposition to retreat with safety. Duke Rudolph, of Suabia, was chosen as their Emperor, and they were

soon openly supported by the Pope, who resented Henry's persistent refusal to carry out all the conditions of the treaty, and who still upheld his authority over his own bishops. In the breach thus opened even the pious Matilda no longer dared to speak of reconciliation.

Henry resolved upon a bold move. He held at Brescia, in 1080, a council of bishops devoted to his interests; and there he caused Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, an avowed enemy of Gregory, to be elected Pope; and he deposed Gregory, although he was recognized as the legitimate Pope by the whole Catholic world, with the exception of the bishops in revolt under the direction of Henry. On learning this, Gregory convoked at Rome a council in which he again excommunicated Henry, together with the anti-Pope, whom he would not absolve.

Thus arose the schismatics known as the *Henricians*, who were condemned by various councils. These sectaries maintained that the Emperor ought to exercise the highest authority over the election of the pontiffs and the bishops, and that no one could be recognized as legitimate pontiff or legitimate bishop unless he had been elected by the German Emperor; and that no account was to be taken of excommunication against a King. This schism ended in the reign of Charles II, about 1120.

Gregory now received as fiefs of the Church Tuscany and Lombardy, presented to him by the Countess Matilda, and thus was laid the foundation of the temporal power of the papal See. The donation was confirmed by her in 1102, under Pope Pascal II.

The actions of this pious Catholic Princess have met with their just reward of praise from writers on Church

history. The enemies of Gregory have accused her of having been too intimate with Gregory VII, but the virtue of that Pope, and that of Matilda, have caused all important historians to treat that accusation as a calumny. As to her donation, its reality was never doubted; but the title itself became a subject of discord. Matilda possessed Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, a part of Umbria, the Duchy of Spoleto, Verona, almost all now known as the "Patrimony of Saint Peter," from Veterbo to Ovieto, with a part of the March of Ancona. When the Pope Pascal II wished to take possession of those States, Henry IV opposed him, on the ground that most of the fiefs given by the Countess were appendages of the imperial authority. These rival pretensions were a new spark of war between the papacy and the Empire. But at length it was necessary to yield to the Roman See a portion of the heritage of Matilda.

Rudolph of Suabia did not live long to contest the crown of Germany with Henry. Upon his death in 1080 Henry was left free to carry out his decree of deposition against Gregory. He entered Italy with an army for the purpose of seating his own Pope in the papal chair. In three successive summers he laid siege to Rome; but it was not until 1084 that he gained possession of the city, through an act of treachery of some of the Roman nobles, who opened to him the gate of the city. Gregory took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, and Guibert was established on the papal throne under the title of Clement III. Meanwhile, Robert Guiscard of Normandy, had espoused the cause of the persecuted Pope, and Henry, learning of his advance on Rome, withdrew from Italy. Released by Robert, Gregory again excommunicated both Henry and the false Pope;

but feeling that his power in Rome was weakened and his residence there no longer secure, he retired to Salerno. Worn out with grief, fatigue, and infirmities, he died there on the 25th of May, 1085, uttering these words: "We have loved justice and hated iniquity, and for this we die in exile." He had governed as an intrepid defender of ecclesiastical liberty twelve years, one month and four days.

On account of the tribulations which pursued this holy pontiff, he has been ranked by the Church among its martyrs. His name was placed in the Roman Martyrology by Gregory XIII, on the 25th of May, 1584, and throughout the Roman Church his festival is observed on that day, the anniversary of his death.

We may cite here some of the reflections which have been made by different writers upon the character and career of this remarkable man, one of the ablest of the Roman pontiffs.

"Even the enemies of Gregory," says Voigt, "are obliged to confess that the ruling thought of the pontiff —the independence of the Church—was indispensable for the propagation of religion and the reformation of society, and that to that end it was necessary to break the fetters which bound the Church to the State, to the great detriment of religion. It was necessary for the Church to be an entirety; a unit in itself and by itself, a divine institution, whose influence, salutary to all men, could be arrested by no Prince of the world. The letters of Gregory are full of this thought; and in the conviction that he was called upon to realize this thought he labored with all his might.

"To appreciate the service rendered to the Church by Gregory, we must inquire into the circumstances in which Gregory found it, its connection with the State

and its disorders. We must inquire into the merits and habits of the clerical body, its spirit, its tendency, its rudeness, its degeneracy, its forgetfulness of all duty and of all discipline, and of its ignorance side by side with its pride. A clear idea must be formed, too, of the situation of Germany, and the character of Henry be fully comprehended. Then and not till then can we judge Gregory. To attain the ends he sought—the purification of the Church within, and its emancipation from external influence—Gregory could not act otherwise than he did. His action was necessarily energetic. His faith and his conviction could not but be as they were, for the course of events had given them birth."

That the authority which Gregory asserted for the Church was necessary at this time to the prosperity and civilization of Europe is admitted even by those writers who dissent from the theological doctrines of the Church. Voltaire says: "From all the history of the period we learn that society among the Western nations had few certain rules; that the States had few laws, and the Church sought to repair the want." And de Maistre adds: "Among all the pontiffs called to this great work, St. Gregory VII rises majestically. He assumed the mission of instituting European sovereignty, then unchecked in its passions. He wrote these remarkable words: 'We are mindful, with the Divine assistance, to furnish the Emperors, Kings, and other sovereigns those spiritual arms which they need to quell in their hearts the furious tempests of pride,' as if to say, 'I wish to teach them that a King is not a tyrant.' And who, but for Gregory, would have taught them?"

In his contest with Henry, Gregory aimed to establish no new principle; he sought no conquest. He

simply asserted a prerogative which the Church had always claimed, that of exercising authority over sovereigns, and which the weakness of his predecessors had suffered to be gradually wrested from them. The question in issue between him and the Emperor was one of vital importance to the Church; it was a question of its life or death. Gregory won in the contest; for, though he was apparently defeated by the superior military strength of the Emperor, was driven from Rome and died in exile, he had dealt the pretension of the Emperors a blow from which it never recovered. The conflict continued for fifty years after the death of Gregory, under five successive pontiffs, until in the time of Calixtus II the schism was healed by the complete submission of the imperial to the papal authority. Thereafter the Roman Emperors looked to the Popes to sanction their election, while the election of the Popes was left entirely in the hands of the cardinals. In his work of internal reform he was equally successful. He found the patronage of the Church the mere spoil and merchandise of Princes. He brought it under the control of the supreme pontiff. He reformed impure and profane abuses and gave new life and new dignity to an institution which was losing respect and becoming a scandal in the eyes of the laity. But, above all, he left to his successors, as a priceless heritage, the healthful and stimulating example of his own blameless life and gigantic character.

LOUIS XI

1423-1483

THE BUILDING OF A MONARCHY

Louis XI first appears in history, at the age of sixteen, as the leader of a rebellion against his father, Charles VII of France. The rebellion was not, however, one of his own making. The Dukes of Alençon, Bourbon, and other nobles had projected one of their periodical uprisings against the monarchy, and they had pitched upon the Dauphin as a nominal leader, simply for the use of his name.

The youth who thus lent himself to the designs of his father's enemies was a boy of no ordinary character. The historian Michelet thus speaks of him: "His leading trait was impatience. He longed to live and to act. He had quickness and intellect enough to make one tremble; no heart, neither friendship, nor sense of kindred, no touch of humanity, no conscience to restrain him. The only feature he had in common with his time was bigotry; which, however, far from holding him back, always came pat to put an end to his scruples. . . . Strange to say, with all his driveling and petty scrupulosity of devotion, the instinct of novelty was quick within him, the desire to upstir and change everything. The restlessness of the modern spirit was already his, inspiring his fearful ardor to go on, to be ever going on, trampling all under his feet, walking, if need be, over the bones of his father." Such was Louis in his boyhood, and such he remained through life.

Louis XI was born at Paris in 1423, his father being, as already stated, Charles VII, his mother a daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, a parentage which made him a cousin of his great political opponent Charles the Bold. When a mere lad he began to take part in State affairs, and at the early age of fourteen had been charged by his father to reduce to order the Marches of Brittany and Poitou.

The rebellion in which he had now become involved was of short duration. The King, who was holding Easter at Poitiers when he heard the news, hastily collected an army and in one short campaign dispersed the rebellious nobles. Alençon and the rest, including the Dauphin, humbly sued for peace. Some of the principal offenders were stripped of their possessions; Louis was sent into Dauphiny to prevent him from making further trouble. He was only to be kept quiet by being secured a little Kingdom as an earnest of his future inheritance.

But even in this remote province the restless Louis continued still to scheme and to intrigue, besides rendering himself obnoxious to the people by his oppression and tyranny. In all the political transactions of these times, great or small, we continually meet with the Dauphin's name. All the King's enemies seemed naturally to become the Dauphin's friends; and he himself was frequently suspected of conspiracy against his father, but in no case were there sufficient proofs to warrant his arrest. Thus passed sixteen years of his life.

In May, 1456, however, a conspiracy formed by the Duke of Alençon was discovered, in which the Dauphin was clearly implicated. Alençon was arrested; the Dauphin fled to Burgundy. Here he was received with kindness by the Duke, Philip the Good, who gave him

precedence everywhere and treated him almost as King. Philip placed himself, his subjects and his means at the disposal of his nephew—all except that which Louis most desired, an army to enable him to return to France and place his father in ward.

Louis repaid this kindness by stirring up to revolt the discontented cities of Flanders, which were subject to Burgundy, and causing trouble between the Duke of Burgundy and his son, Count of Charolais, afterward Charles the Bold. In his place of retreat, Genappe, he devoted his energies to two objects—driving his father to despair and undermining the house which entertained him. In this way he passed his time until 1461, in which year his father died and Louis became King of France.

The condition of France at the time of the accession of Louis XI to the throne was deplorable, indeed. All things were in confusion. The country was split up into a number of provinces, the Governors of which, though appointed by the King, were practically independent. The people were wretchedly poor, and yet were subjected by their rulers to oppressive taxation. In striking contrast with the general poverty even of the nobles was the condition of the Church, which had become possessed of nearly all the most fertile domains, and had innumerable richly endowed monasteries, abbeys and other like establishments. France was besides encompassed by foreign enemies, chief among whom were the English and Burgundians. Of the two, the former were the most feared, for the French still retained a lively recollection of Crecy, Poitiers and Agincourt.

Louis XI was crowned at Rheims in 1461, by the Duke of Burgundy, amid a scene of great splendor. Burgundians and Frenchmen vied with each other in

the magnificence of their costumes; the only humble and devout person in the entire palace was the King himself. From the day of his coronation Louis had three objects in view—to crush the nobles, to humble the house of Burgundy and annex the province to France, and to keep out the English.

The most imminent of the dangers which threatened the new reign was the doubtful friendship of Burgundy. From Calais, which at this time was English, the Duke of Burgundy could bring in ten days' time an English army to Paris. To secure himself in this quarter, Louis bribed the Duke's counsellors and took especial pains to keep the good will of his cousin the Count of Charolais.

His next move was to deprive the powerful Duke of Bourbon of the government of Guienne. Here and in all the other provinces he changed the officials, removing those appointed by his father and appointing others who were subservient to his will. Next, to replenish his exhausted treasury, he began to lay hands upon the benefices of the clergy, having first secured the support of the Pope by agreeing to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction.

In his foreign enterprises he was successful on the side of Spain, from which country he took the Province of Rousillon; but on the side of England he was less fortunate, having provoked the enmity of both England and Burgundy by interference in the War of the Roses.

He continued his attack upon the clergy and nobles, invading the most cherished of the baronial privileges, the right of Chase. This last measure, crowning a long series of grievances which the nobles had against him, resulted in their forming, in 1465, an alliance among themselves, known as the League of the Public Good.

This League was joined by the Count of Charolais, who had completely taken the command of affairs in the Burgundian territories, his father, the old Duke, being too feeble to withstand him. The Dukes of Brittany, Nemours, John of Anjou and several other nobles, flocked in, and the King had scarcely any forces at his back with which to withstand them. He managed, however, to prevent coming to any decisive engagement, and finally, after a series of manœuvers, shut himself up in Paris. The armies of the Leaguers closed in upon him; and after a siege of several weeks, Louis, finding his situation desperate, signed a treaty of peace which gave complete satisfaction to the nobles. Louis was compelled to give up Normandy to the Duke of Brittany, the friend of Count of Charolais and England, to abolish the States-General and to put in their places the rebellious nobles, and was shut up in Paris. But six weeks later the King had started to recover Normandy, setting at naught the terms of the treaty. Liége he incited to rebellion, and thus he tied the hands of Charles.

In 1467 Charles became Duke of Burgundy on the death of his father. Among the first events of his reign was the revolt of Liége. That city had been stirred up against Charles by Louis ever since he had become King, and had now revolted. While Charles the Bold was besieging Liége, Louis attempted to recover Normandy. To do this it was necessary for him to win over the Duke of Bourbon, and he concluded a treaty with him, leaving the Liégeois to their fate. The alliance with Bourbon was dearly purchased, since by its terms Louis placed nearly one-half of France under the authority of the Duke. But it enabled him to recover Normandy, and to prevent its falling into the hands of the

English. He now sought to withdraw Picardy from under the influence of Burgundy. Charles was furious. He at once formed an alliance with Edward IV of England, which he cemented by marrying Margaret of York, the King's sister, and thus frustrated Louis' plans.

Soon after this alliance with the English had been formed the city of Liége again broke out in revolt, stirred up, no doubt, by Louis. Charles promptly marched to put down the rebellion. The Liégeois advanced to meet him and were defeated in a battle at Tongres. Charles now entered Liége without further opposition, executed the ringleaders of the rebellion, removed the bishop, and took away the city's privileges.

In this affair of Liége, Charles had called to his assistance 500 English men-at-arms. The presence of these soldiers disturbed greatly Louis' peace of mind. The English were again in France, however small their number; and as soon as Louis received the news, he armed the city of Paris. This was a bold thing to do, considering the doubtful attitude of Paris toward the King in his late troubles, but he conciliated the Parisians by relieving them from taxation and showing them other favors.

Louis' fears were well founded, for on the 15th of October, 1467, the blow which he had expected fell. Charles invaded Normandy and soon made himself master of the greater part of it. This the King was unable to prevent, for had he moved from Paris, Charles would have thrown an English army into France. Louis tried to open negotiations with Charles, but failed; then he tried the Pope's intervention. He had won over the Pontiff by abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Pope agreed to intercede in the quarrel. The Duke was with difficulty persuaded to receive the Papal legate, and when he did receive him the only result accomplished

was that Charles consented to have a personal interview with Louis at Peronne.

Louis, fearing treachery, declined to go to the place of meeting until he had received the most satisfactory assurances of his safe return. These having been given, to display his confidence in the Duke's honor, he went attended with only a few followers. The two sovereigns met like old friends and entered the town arm in arm. But Louis' confidence suffered a severe shock when he found a number of banished French nobles, deadly enemies of his, in the town. To secure his safety against these he desired that he might be lodged in the castle.

A short time before going to Peronne Louis had sent emissaries into Flanders, which belonged to Charles the Bold, to excite a rebellion there. By an unaccountable oversight he had forgotten to countermand the orders given them. While he was in the castle of Peronne news was received by Charles of his treacherous dealings. Charles' rage was terrible. Ignoring the safe-conduct granted to Louis, he shut the castle gates upon him and left him in prison. Louis was not, however, without a resource in this dilemma. He found means to bribe the most influential counsellors of Charles, and these exerted themselves to allay the wrath of the Duke. After he had remained in confinement two days and nights, the Duke released him upon his signing a humiliating treaty. He promised to renounce all claims that had formerly been in dispute between Charles and himself, to give his brother, the Duke of Orleans, nearly half of France, and to accompany Charles to Liége and help put down the rebellion. So to Liége he went in company with Charles.

The people of Liége, with their usual impetuosity, refusing to believe that Louis had turned against them,

marched out to meet the Burgundian army. They surprised it in a night attack, but were finally defeated in a great battle, and then the city was attacked by the Burgundians. Not the slightest resistance was offered, and Liége was soon at Charles' mercy. And a terrible mercy it was; the entire population, it is said, was massacred in cold blood, and the city razed to the ground. The terrible feature of this destruction of a whole people is that it was not a carnage committed in the fury of assault, but a long execution continued for months.

Having assisted in putting down a rebellion which he had himself incited, Louis was at liberty to return to France, which he did, congratulating himself that he had lost nothing save honor, and that one who had made him a prisoner by violating his word, had been stupid enough to release him on the strength of a word.

These events occurred in the year 1468. Charles having made peace with France, now thought of enlarging his own dominions, and as a first step sought to get the Emperor of Germany to crown him King; but in this effort he was unsuccessful. He proceeded, however, to attack some of the Rhine provinces, and thus brought upon himself war with the Swiss. Meanwhile, in England, the house of York, with which Charles was allied, was temporarily overthrown by the house of Lancaster, which weakened him in that quarter.

Louis took the opportunity of Charles' embarrassment to assemble the notables of France. He laid before them Charles' misdeeds, and they decided by acclamation that Louis was released from all oaths taken at Peronne. Soon after this the Lancastrians were defeated by the Yorkists, and their King, Henry VI, was assassinated. The same blow seemed fraught with

ruin to Louis, for now Charles could again count upon England in his schemes. What Charles' purpose was, soon became apparent. He entered into correspondence with the Duke of Brittany and some other French nobles, renewed his alliance with England, and openly avowed a determination, not merely to humble, but to dismember France. But, fortunately for Louis, there was a division in the camp of the enemy, which prevented immediate action. Meanwhile the Duke of Orleans died, and a quarrel arose over Guienne, which had belonged to Orleans, and was now claimed both by Louis and Charles. Louis at once took forcible possession of Guienne; Charles thereupon broke the truce and made war upon the King, marching into northern France, sacking towns and ravaging the country, until he reached Beauvais. There the despair of the citizens and the bravery of the women saved the town. Charles raised the siege and marched on Rouen, hoping to meet the Duke of Brittany; but that Prince had his hands full, for Louis had overrun his territories and reduced him to terms. Charles saw that the coalition had completely failed. He, too, made a fresh truce with Louis at Senlis (1472).

From this time forward Charles turned his attention mainly to the east, and ceased to interfere with the affairs of France.

Louis, contrary to all expectations, had extricated himself from all his difficulties. He had reconquered Brittany, and had recovered all of the South. His brother was dead, and with him had expired intrigues innumerable and countless dangers to the monarchy. That the crisis was not fatal to the King was a proof of his vitality and the firmness of his position.

In 1473 Louis entered into an alliance with the Swiss

and the Rhenish provinces against Charles, the effect of which was to give the Duke abundant employment and to defer his meditated designs upon France. Two years later (1475) Charles concluded a treaty with Edward IV of England, in which he gave to the English all of France, keeping only for himself Nevers, Champagne and the towns on the Somme. As a result of this treaty Edward entered France through "the ever-open door of Calais" with a large army. Louis at once set his wits at work to relieve himself of the English by diplomacy rather than by war. He sought and obtained a personal interview with Edward. The negotiations opened with a proposal of marriage between the Dauphin and Edward's daughter, and money judiciously used in bribing Edward's ministers soon brought them to a satisfactory conclusion. Edward returned to England.

The Duke of Burgundy, who had joined the English army, but was temporarily absent, flew into a violent rage when he heard the news of this treaty, and threatened to declare war upon the English. Edward, on his part, proposed to Louis to recross the Channel and help him crush the Duke. The King took good care to decline the offer; his was an opposite game, and he concluded a nine years' truce with the Duke, hoping that he would go on to embroil himself still more deeply with the Swiss and the Empire. He, on his part, intended to avail himself of the opportunity afforded by this truce to crush out in France the last remnant of resistance to him on the part of the great nobles; and in this enterprise he succeeded.

As Louis had foreseen, Charles resumed his project of establishing a great Empire on the Rhine, which involved him in continual and unfortunate warfare with the Swiss, who then ranked as the best soldiers in

Europe. In 1476 he met with two defeats, one at Granson and a second, still more disastrous, at Morat. In the following year occurred the battle of Nancy in which his army was almost annihilated and Charles was himself slain on the field.

Louis at once decided to make the most that he could out of the disaster of his Burgundian rival, and the weakness of his heir, Mary. He entered Picardy and Burgundy. To keep the English at home he gorged them with money, and at the same time offered as a friend to give them a share in the spoil. In each province he advanced a different right. To the Burgundians he presented himself as the feudal guardian of Mary, the daughter of Charles, anxious to preserve her possessions to her. He also took possession of Franche Comté, and even entered Flanders. Then Mary, hoping to obtain a protector against this dangerous neighbor, offered her hand and all her rich possessions to the young Maximilian of Austria, and married him within six months after her father's death.

The King had entered upon his Burgundian conquests heartily and full of hope. His ideas had become vast. With no powerful nobles left at home to give him trouble, and his great rival dead, the thought of Charlemagne occurred to him, and he would have been glad to annex to France, not Burgundy and Flanders alone, but a good slice of Germany. But he had now to reckon not only with the Princes of the Rhine provinces, but also with Maximilian. To give the details of his military operations would be tedious, and is hardly necessary, since all we now care for is their final result. It is enough to say that he met with successes, secured the provinces of Franche Comté, Arras, Artois, Hainault, and Cambrai; he also met with reverses and was com-

pelled to abandon some of his conquests. His most disastrous battle was fought at Guinegate, where he was defeated by Maximilian in 1479. The war was languid after this; a truce followed in 1480, and a time of quiet for France.

In this same year (1480), on tne death of the old King Réné, the two important provinces of Anjou and Provence fell to France, Margaret of Anjou, Réné's daughter and heiress, having ceded them to Louis in return for help. Finally, in 1482, Louis concluded a treaty with the Flemings, which ended opposition to his occupancy of Burgundy.

Louis was now at the height of his power; but already his health was failing. Let us see what he had accomplished: He had strengthened the throne of France by crushing the powerful nobles who had hitherto been a standing menace to the monarchy. He had added territory to France—Burgundy and several other smaller provinces—until he had given her very nearly the limits which she has at the present day. He had reorganized his army, profiting by his experience in the Burgundian wars, and had rendered it one of the most efficient military establishments in Europe. He had regulated the internal affairs of the country in such a way as to give additional strength to the central government, by placing in command of all the provinces those who were devoted to the interests of the crown. In a word, he had created a Kingdom out of a collection of disorganized and jarring elements, and had raised France to the position of the first among the nations of Europe. By a singular concurrence of circumstances, all the surrounding Kingdoms were now in the hands of youthful sovereigns, and the able and experienced Louis XI became the arbiter among them, Hungary,

Bohemia, and Castile courted his favor; Venice at his request broke loose from the house of Burgundy, and Genoa placed herself under his protection.

All was going well with Louis, only he was dying. His health was failing, and he knew that his end was not far off. Yet he desired to live, partly because he feared death, dreading, it has been unkindly said, "the judgment below," and partly for the more worthy reason that he desired to accomplish still more for France. "Let me live a short time longer," said Louis XI to Comines, "and there shall be but one custom, one weight, one measure throughout the Kingdom. All the customs (laws) shall be set forth in French, in a fair book, which will cut short the tricks and plunderings of the lawyers, and abridge lawsuits. . . . I will curb, as is fitting, these long robes of the Parliament . . . will establish a powerful police in my Kingdom." Comines adds that he had a strong desire to relieve his people, that he recognized the oppression under which they labored, and he "felt his soul burdened" thereby.

In the last year of his life Louis resided at Plessis, in a castle which has been described as a veritable donjon-keep, "behind gates of iron and bastions of iron—in short, in a prison so well guarded that none entered." Here was the King confined, so meager and pallid that he durst not show himself, or, rather perhaps unable to go out, for he had been stricken with paralysis. And fearful tales were current among the people of the life led there by the invalid King, as that to reinvigorate his exhausted veins he drank the blood of infants.

But despite the popular tales of his eccentricities and excesses, there is evidence that his faculties remained unclouded to the last; that the priests who attended him

in his last moments were unable so to work upon his superstitious nature as to secure from him any concessions for their order against his better judgment. He remained a King to the end. The end came on the 24th of August, 1483.

That Louis XI was a despot of the first order, it is not necessary to say. Yet his despotism was not unlightened nor wholly selfish. The hand which he laid upon the nobility was a heavy one; yet for the lower classes he had a fatherly solicitude, as is shown by his many wise ordinances. He worked intelligently and accomplished much for the general prosperity of the Kingdom. In his youth he had been an insatiable reader, and he continued throughout his life to be a patron of learning. He was particularly interested in the new art of printing, and it is said that on his accession to the throne he invited printers from Strasburg and set up a printing press at Sorbonne. On the whole, it may be questioned whether Louis XI has not a better title to be styled the "Great" than the more pompous Louis XIV, to whom this distinction has been accorded.

MACHIAVELLI

1469-1527

THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS

Nicolo Machiavelli was born at Florence May 3, 1469. He came of a distinguished patrician family, which had been honored with the highest dignities of the republic. Of his early life and his education little is known. His writings reveal, however, a wide familiarity with the Latin and Italian classics; but the Greek language he seems never to have mastered.

In 1498, four years after the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, Machiavelli became the secretary of the restored republic. He held this position for fourteen years. During this time he not only attended to the voluminous correspondence of the state and drew up memorials, when occasion required, on important questions of the day, to be presented to the council, but he was also frequently employed on diplomatic missions. He was twice Ambassador to the Court of Rome, and thrice to that of France. In these missions and several others of inferior importance he acquitted himself with great dexterity; and his correspondence and dispatches form an instructive and interesting collection of state papers. They are interspersed with shrewd comments on men and things, which reveal him as a man of clear judgment and a keen observer.

One of his missions, in 1502, was to the camp of Cæsar Borgia, or the Duke of Valentinois as he was now called, who was then in Romagna. The duty of

the envoy appears to have been to wait upon the Duke and to keep an eye upon him. Borgia was then engaged in the intricate intrigue which ended with the capture of Sinigaglia; and Machiavelli was a witness of the signal triumph of his villainy, when he caught in one snare and crushed at one blow all of his most formidable rivals. The envoy has been accused of having prompted the crimes of the artful and merciless tyrant. But his correspondence shows that his relations with Borgia at the time, though ostensibly amicable, were really hostile. But this did not prevent his conceiving the highest admiration for the genius of a man who, when apparently about to be himself crushed, had by a masterly combination of audacity, cruelty, and fraud, turned defeat into victory. With the eye of a politician he studied Borgia, less as a man than as a Prince. The hypocrisy and villainy which he might have detested in a private citizen assumed a different hue when employed by a ruler for the establishment of power and the creation of a state. Machiavelli contrasted Borgia with the enemies who were pitted against him, and he could not fail to recognize his superiority. Here was a man who, trained to an unwarlike profession, had created an army out of the dregs of an unwarlike people, and who after having won sovereignty by destroying his enemies, won popularity by destroying his own tools. There was no denying the genius of the man; as to the means employed, they were justified by the end, in the opinion of Machiavelli. That a ruler should have no conscience, no scruples, but should hold himself free to use any and every means that might further his designs, is the fundamental principle which underlies the famous or infamous system of politics subsequently developed and expounded by Machiavelli in his work entitled the

Prince, in which he took Cæsar Borgia for his model. That at this time he had already begun to entertain such views, is shown by his letters to his friend Vettori, in which he expresses the opinion that the behavior of Borgia in the conquest of the provinces and cementing a new state out of fragmentary elements, and his way of dealing with false friends and doubtful allies, were worthy of all praise and of scrupulous imitation.

Detestable as are the principles of Machiavelli, there is no question that he labored earnestly for the welfare of Italy. He longed to see her released from the domination of foreign masters—to see both the French and the Spaniards driven beyond her borders, and to see arise within a new state dominated by an Italian Prince. He had little faith in republics. Their weakness in the existing chaotic condition of Italy was only too apparent. He perceived clearly, too, that one of the main sources of this weakness was the practice which was general among the states of employing mercenary troops—the professional condottieri—a practice which extinguished the valor and discipline of their own citizens and left their wealth an easy prey to foreign plunderers. One of the measures of Borgia which he commended most highly was his discontinuance of this vicious practice, and his employment of troops levied among his own subjects.

Machiavelli may have looked upon the successful Borgia as the possible future savior of Italy; but more naturally he sought this honor for his own city—Florence. He returned from his embassy with a scheme through which alone the first step in this direction could be taken—the reorganization of the Florentine militia. He determined if possible to give his state an army made up of her own citizens. At that time Piero Soderini

had been elected gonfalonier of Florence for life, and to him the plan was first submitted. Soderini entered into his views; but when they were laid before the council, obstacles arose. First came the financial embarrassment of the state, for its exchequer was depleted by its war with its rebellious subject state, Pisa. But more serious than this was the distrust of the citizens. Some of them feared to put Soderini in command of a standing army lest he should overturn the government and make himself despot of Florence—as he probably would have done had he retained Machiavelli for his adviser. For three years Machiavelli and Soderini labored at this scheme before they finally succeeded in passing it through the council. A *Bureau of the Militia* was then established, of which Machiavelli became the secretary. The country districts of the Florentine state were divided into military departments, and levies of foot soldiers were made in order to form a standing militia—of foot soldiers only, for Michiavelli had declared against both cavalry and artillery. A commander of the army had now to be selected. There were objections to selecting a citizen of Florence, or perhaps no competent citizen was available, and Machiavelli, true to his policy of expediency, proposed for this responsible position Don Micheletto, one of the cut-throats of Borgia. The Don had worked well for Cæsar Borgia, was a good soldier, and, notorious villain though he was, was deemed a fit officer to discipline and exercise the raw Florentine militia.

Meanwhile important events had taken place in Italy. The Pope Alexander VI had died, and Julius II had ascended the vacant throne. Machiavelli was sent to Rome to attend the conclave. There he again met Cæsar Borgia, now stripped of his power and a prisoner of the deadliest enemy of his house; and he seems to

have regarded his former hero with less of compassion than of contempt. In the following year he accompanied Julius, as envoy from his state, on his expedition into the province of Emilia, where the military Pope subdued in person the rebellious cities of the church. Toward the close of the year 1507 he was sent to Botzen in Germany on a mission to the Emperor Maximilian, who was meditating a journey into Italy in order to be crowned at Rome.

The public life of Machiavelli was now drawing to a close. In 1508 was formed the League of Cambray, by which Julius II combined the powers of Europe against the Venetians. Then followed stirring events in the north of Italy, which had the effect of raising the hopes of the Medicean party in Florence and of weakening the power of Soderini, and finally, in 1512, came the battle of Ravenna.

This battle was decisive of the fate of Florence. Giovanni de' Medici, afterward Pope Leo X, entered the city backed by a Spanish army, and restored to power the Medici. Machiavelli even now did not despair of retaining his office; but the Medici received coldly his overtures of service. He was regarded with suspicion, as the right-hand man of the deposed Soderini, and within three months after the return of the Medici, he was stripped of all his appointments and banished from the city. Soon after this he fell under an unjust suspicion of having taken part in the conspiracy of Boscoli, against the Medici, was thrown into prison, and, after the manner of the times, was put to the rack. Upon the election of Giovanni to the Papacy (March, 1513) he was released from confinement; and he then retired to a villa in the country, there to divide his time between books and dissipation.

Busily occupied as Machiavelli had been in his public life, he had found time to devote to literary pursuits other than those immediately connected with his office, and he now took up as serious work what had before been a pastime. Within a year after his retirement he had completed his *Prince*—the work already referred to. This work was designed as a sequel to his *Discourses upon Livy*, which, though not published, must have been written while he was still in office. But it would seem to have come hard to a man whose life had been a stirring one, and whose spirit was restless, to fill the full measure of existence in the quiet society of books. His letters to his friend Vettori present us with a strange mixture of intellectual and sensual enjoyment. He talks of his literary work, and he tells with equal frankness, and perhaps with keener zest, of his dissipations; and the one theme is as entertaining to his friend as the other. Indeed, much of the correspondence that passed between the two friends falls under the head of obscene literature. And yet this coarseness of taste—which, it should be said, was not generated in his retirement, but is exhibited in the whole of his private correspondence—did not blunt his intellectual vigor. Many of the letters written at this time related to the affairs of Italy and Europe. They were intended to be shown to the Medici at Rome, and they exhibit the same keenness of perception and the same philosophical breadth as is found in his earlier diplomatic papers.

From the first moment of his retirement Machiavelli meditated the possibility of his return to power. Upon the completion of the *Prince* he decided to dedicate the work to one of the Medicean Princes in the avowed hope that he might thereby ensure a recall to office. Upon the advice of his friend Vettori, he fixed upon

Giuliano de' Medici for the intended honor. Giuliano had been chosen by Pope Leo X as ruler of a duchy to be formed by the union of Parma, Placenza, Reggio, and Modena, and it seemed to Machiavelli that under his tutelage the new Duke might become the great unifier of Italy. But unfortunately Guiliano died. The work was finally dedicated to the young Lorenzo de' Medici, who had been installed in Florence. This act of Machiavelli seems to have given more offense to his countrymen than even the pernicious teaching of the work itself. It seemed like political apostasy. It has the appearance, indeed, of servile fawning for a personal purpose. But it admits of a more favorable interpretation. Machiavelli certainly had the interest of his country at heart; his confidence in himself and his system was immense. The change of rulers in Florence was a fact which he could not alter; yet what he attempted under the old regime might still be effected under the new.

The Medici were in no haste to accept his proffered services. He continued his literary work, and varied it by giving readings from his *Discourses* to a select audience in the Rucellai gardens. This work professed to be a commentary on the early history of Rome, though the few passages of Livy which he selected were used merely as texts which served to introduce his peculiar views as to the strong and weak points of different forms of government. The real theme of his work was the existing condition of Italy, and one of the main truths which he sought to inculcate was that a state to be strong must depend for its defense on the arms of its own citizens.

Toward the year 1519 he wrote, upon the invitation of Leo, a *Discourse upon Reforming the State of Florence*,

in which he earnestly admonished Leo, both for his own sake and that of Florence, to give the city a free constitution—advice which runs counter to the whole tenor of his *Prince*, and which declares more distinctly than any other act of his life that he was at heart a true patriot.

Machiavelli never realized his fond hope of being called to a responsible position under the new government; but toward the close of his life he was selected by the Medici for two or three not very important missions. In the spring of 1526 he was employed by Pope Clement VII to inspect the fortifications of Florence, and later in the year was sent on a mission to Venice. In the following spring he was directed to repair to Lombardy, where he was to be associated with Clement's viceroy in the Papal service. A new political career seemed to open before him; but before he could leave Florence he was taken ill, and on the 22nd of June, 1527, he died, from an overdose of opium, it is said, administered through mistake.

The prominent place filled by Machiavelli, in time of stirring political events and the boldness with which he advanced his peculiarly cynical views of human nature, naturally made him many enemies. The impression made by his *Prince* upon the minds of his contemporaries was generally unfavorable, and the adverse public estimate of his character was not helped by the excesses of which he was guilty in his private life. By the great majority of the sober-minded among his contemporaries he seems to have been looked upon as a thoroughly bad man, all the more dangerous because of his splendid talents. Yet even his enemies admit that he had good qualities. Vardi says of him that "in his conversation he was pleasant, obliging to his intimates, and the friend

of virtuous persons." In religion Machiavelli was as heretical as in politics. He held the Church and the clergy in supreme contempt; yet on his death bed he consented to receive the last sacrament; and the story that he died with blasphemy on his lips is undoubtedly a calumny of his enemies. In person Machiavelli was of medium height, was black haired, with a rather small head, piercing eyes and a nose slightly aquiline. He was married at about the time when he became Secretary of Florence, and left several daughters. His domestic life is said to have been a happy one, in spite of his irregularities.

Machiavelli was the author of numerous works besides those which have already been referred to. A few of them only are now of sufficient interest to require mention here. In a treatise on the *Art of War*, written in 1520, he set forth his views on military matters, digesting the theory already exemplified in his reform of the militia of Florence. He urges in this work the employment of national troops, and the necessity of relying upon infantry in war, doubts the efficiency of fortifications and the value of artillery. The work is highly colored by his enthusiasm for ancient Rome, and from the modern military standpoint it is simply a curiosity. His last great work was a *History of Florence*, written by command of the Pope, who, as the head of the house of Medici, was at this time sovereign of that State. The History does not appear to be the fruit of much industry or research. It is unquestionably inaccurate. But it is written in a pleasing style, is lively and picturesque, and the reader probably receives from it a more faithful impression of the national character and manners than from other more correct accounts. It is notable that though the writer was enjoined to bring into especial

prominence the house of Medici, he treats the characters of Cosmo, Piero, and Lorenzo with a freedom and impartiality equally honorable to himself and his patron.

Machiavelli wrote several poetical works, which are of interest now solely to the literati. He was also the author of three comedies, of which one only, the *Mandragola*, contributed to his literary reputation. This comedy of Machiavelli is one of the most celebrated works of his time. It has been universally admired by critics for its merit as a work of art, and as universally condemned for its immorality. It is presented as a picture of the old Florentine life. Its principal characters are a plausible adventurer, a profligate parasite, a hypocritical confessor, as easily duped husband and a wife too easily brought to yield to shame. The plot of the play is both clumsy and improbable; but its scenes are lively, its characters are well drawn, the satire is telling, and the wit is both sprightly and of a sort to please the auditors for whom the play was intended. It has been maintained by the apologists of Machiavelli that the *Mandragola* was written by him as a satire, with the commendable purpose of opening the eyes of his contemporaries to their moral iniquities. But after having been admitted to the secrets of his private life and correspondence, one requires faith of no ordinary strength to see in this objectional piece anything but an exhibition of his own grossness pampering the depraved taste of his age.

The great work of Machiavelli, however, that which alone has kept his memory alive and which has served to cover his name with obloquy, as a synonym of all that is crooked in politics, is the *Prince*. The character of this astounding work has been tersely presented by Macaulay in a single paragraph: "It is scarcely pos-

sible for any person, not well acquainted with the history and literature of Italy, to read without horror and amazement this celebrated treatise of Machiavelli. Such a display of wickedness, naked yet not ashamed, such cool, judicious, scientific atrocity, seems rather to belong to a fiend than to the most depraved of men. Principles which the most hardened ruffian would scarcely hint to his most trusted accomplice, or avow, without the disguise of some palliating sophism, even to his own mind, are professed without the slightest circumlocution, and assumed as the fundamental axioms of all political science."

Atrocious as this work is, it may be possible to relieve Machiavelli of some of the odium which it has brought upon him, if we will consider the circumstances under which it was written. That Machiavelli was actuated through his whole public life by a pure and earnest zeal for the welfare of his country, does not admit of question. He was never engaged in any political intrigue; was never charged with any base political act; while his great measure of the reform of the militia was undoubtedly directed to the sole end of increasing the power of Florence. But his view extended beyond Florence. The whole of Italy was included within its compass. He longed to see Italy a great state under a single government, the peer instead of the prey of France and Spain. The problem which he set before himself was the method by which this end should be attained. If it be granted that this was the noble purpose of Machiavelli, it becomes possible to solve the enigma of the *Prince*. Italy was at that time in a state of thorough disorganization, almost in a state of anarchy. The petty states into which it was divided rarely worked together against a foreign enemy, and were frequently

at strife with one another. Villainy was perpetrated on all sides and in high places. How might all this be remedied? There was, in the opinion of Machiavelli, but one way. A strong hand must seize the helm, one who could combine the States, break up their autonomy and consolidate them into a single state—Italy. It was a noble scheme, and the *Prince*, who was to do this work, would need to be a man of energy, a man who never resorted to half measures, and who would not be deterred by obstacles. There would be opposition, there would be intrigue, and treachery, for Machiavelli understood his countrymen; but against these weapons like weapons must be employed. As Borgia had done in creating his small state, so must the new *Prince* do in unifying Italy. The work would be a work of blood; but the end was a laudable one.

That some such scheme floated in the brain of Machiavelli, though not demonstrable, seems highly probable. It affords a key to the atrociousness of the *Prince*. But the time was not yet ripe. Italy had still to wait three centuries for its final unification; and when the time came, fortunately there was no longer necessity for a Machiavellian policy.

POPE LEO X.

1475-1521

BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION.

Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici), the youngest of three sons of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent, was born at Florence December 11, 1475. He was from the first destined for the service of the Church. At the age of thirteen he was created a cardinal by Innocent VIII, but with the understanding that he should not be publicly recognized as such for three years. Upon the expiration of that time he was formally admitted into the sacred college, in his seventeenth year, and took up his residence at Rome.

Giovanni inherited his father's love of literature and art, and his education was shaped accordingly. Theology was made subordinate to the far more congenial study of the Latin classics, under the tuition of Politian and Bibbiena. Nor was his education alone worldly. His views on the subject of religion were tinged with the Skepticism so prevalent among men of culture at this time that it was considered a characteristic of good society. "One no longer passes for a man of cultivation," says Father Bandino, "unless he puts forth heterodox opinions regarding the Christian faith." And such opinions were held by the future Pontiff, though Luther probably did him a wrong when he declared that Leo denied the immortality of the soul; he was only in doubt upon this point.

Within a few months after he had taken up his resi-

dence at Rome, his prospects were clouded by the nearly simultaneous death of his father and of the Pope, a double event which closed a period of peace in Italy, due to Lorenzo's prudent policy, and led to domestic strife, followed shortly by a French invasion, of which one consequence was the expulsion of the Medici from Florence. Giovanni left Rome, and found refuge in Bologna. After an absence of two or three years, a part of which time was spent in travel, he returned to Rome. Alexander VI, the enemy of his house, was now on the Papal throne, and to avoid arousing his jealousy Giovanni kept in prudent retirement and devoted himself to literary pursuits.

The accession of Julius II to the Papal throne, in 1503, was followed by a renewal of military operations in Italy. By the League of Cambray Julius combined the three powers—France, Spain, and Germany—against the Venetian States; and subsequently when Venice had offered a prolonged and successful resistance, Julius saw it to his interest to break up the unnatural combination. He made a separate treaty with the Venetians, and attempted with the aid of the Spaniards and of Swiss mercenaries to drive the French out of Italy. The battle of Ravenna was fought, at which the French, commanded for Louis XII by Gaston de Foix, were victorious. Cardinal Giovanni had been appointed by Julius commander of the Swiss Mercenaries, and took part in this battle. He was captured and was taken a prisoner to Milan. The French met with subsequent disasters, which compelled them to cross the Alps. Cardinal Giovanni effected his escape, and with a body of Spanish troops marched upon Florence and restored there the authority of the Medici. Shortly after the occurrence of these events Julius died. The

College of Cardinals convened to elect his successor. Giovanni, though severely ill, hastened to Rome to demand his place among them and to promote his own pretensions to the vacant See. What influence he brought to bear upon his colleagues has never been known; but the fact remains that, though then but thirty-seven years of age, he received their unanimous suffrages and was elected the successor of Julius, March 11, 1513. He chose the name Leo X.

The consecration of Leo was performed with a magnificence worthy of a Medici. He delayed the ceremony until the 11th of April, the anniversary of the battle of Ravenna. On the day appointed for the ceremony, clothed in garments studded with diamonds and rubies, his head covered with a tiara glittering with precious stones, he came to the church of the Lateran, followed by an escort so numerous and brilliant that, according to an historian of the time, no King or Emperor had ever displayed so much magnificence in his triumphal procession. The Roman clergy, the magistracy, the nobility, the different orders of the monks, black, gray, and white, the different trades, the chiefs of the soldiery, clothed in glittering armor, formed an immense cortége. Young maidens and children, clothed in white, cast palms and flowers before the Pontiff along the route. He himself was mounted on an Arab courser, the same he had ridden at the battle of Ravenna. Around him were the members of the sacred college and his relations, among whom Julian, the head of the house of Medici, in full armor, was distinguished. After the celebration of the Pontifical mass, the new Pope bestowed his blessing on the people, and retraced the road to the Vatican, where a sumptuous feast

awaited him and his attendants, the cost of which was computed at more than a hundred thousand crowns.

Such was the imposing inauguration of a reign which was to become famous in history for unexampled splendor, refinement and intellectual luxury. The new Pope banished from the Vatican the coarseness which had disfigured the courts of his immediate predecessors; he gathered about him all the artists and authors of Italy, and his court soon became the most brilliant in Europe. But it was a court of splendid irreligion—a school of materialism and philosophical Atheism, and the Pontiff himself was its presiding genius.

Leo's first thought was for the aggrandizement of his family. He placed his brother Piero at the head of the Government of Tuscany, reserving for his other brother, Julian, the crown of Naples, which he had determined to wrest from Spain on the first opportunity. He turned his attention next to the political situation in which he found himself.

The game which Leo had to play was a complicated one. Italy, broken up into numerous independent States, which it was impossible to combine for common defense, was the coveted prize of both the King of France and the Emperor of Germany. Naples, held by Ferdinand of Spain, was claimed by Louis XII of France by right of inheritance; and Milan was also claimed by Louis on the same ground. Maximilian coveted Venice, and was ready to sweep down upon Italy on the first good opportunity. How to play these powers against one another, and not only to preserve intact the Papal States in the north of Italy, but, if possible, to add to their number, was the problem which confronted Leo.

The first move in this game of politics was made by Louis XII, who sent an army into Italy, under the command of La Tremouille, to recover Milan. Tremouille was badly defeated at Novara, by the Swiss mercenaries in the pay of Leo, and was driven back into France. Almost at the same time Anjou was invaded by the English, Navarre by the Spaniards, Burgundy by a second army of Swiss and the provinces bordering on the Rhine by Maximilian.

In this extremity Louis was compelled to throw himself on the clemency of Leo. He sent Ambassadors to Rome, to sue humbly, not merely for peace, but for pardon; for one of the means which had been adopted by Louis in his contest with Leo's predecessor had been the calling of a council of churchmen at Pisa, to serve as a foil to that of the Lateran. Louis now, through his Ambassadors, disowned the council of Pisa, declared his detestation of the decisions made in that assembly of Schismatics, undertook to deliver them up to Leo, and, in addition, signed an adherence to the council of the Lateran, and pledged himself in future not to give aid to the enemies of the Holy See. Upon these humiliating terms Leo granted peace to the French King. Later the offending fathers of Pisa appeared before Leo to ask, in their turn, for pardon; and after having acknowledged their error, they were reprimanded and punished with degradation to the rank of simple priests.

A moment of calm ensued, of which the Pontiff availed himself to continue the labors of the Lateran General Council, which had long been in session. Among the numerous decrees issued by this council from time to time, two only are of sufficient interest to require special notice here. The first is a decree establishing *monti de piete*, banks from which the poor

might obtain small loans of money at reasonable rates of interest, upon the deposit of articles of value. The decree was directed professedly against the usury practiced by the pawnbrokers; but inasmuch as one-half of the interest charged went into the treasury of the church, it may fairly be regarded as an indirect taxation of the poor. It may be said in passing that the three balls, which now form the sign of the pawnbroker, are the arms of the Medici. The second of the decrees referred to was aimed at the freedom of the press. It provided that the works of authors should be submitted to censors, and that no book should be printed which had not first received the approbation of the Pope or his Vicars, under pain of excommunication.

In the midst of these political and church affairs Leo was engaged in a congenial work of embellishing Rome with works of art and particularly in rebuilding the church of St. Peter's. This work had been begun during the pontificate of his predecessor. It was one of the direct results of the introduction of the Pagan art of Greece into Italy, and its rejuvenation there. "The two factions then dividing the jealous and contentious world of art," says Ranke, "united in urging Julius II to demolish the ancient basilica of St. Peter's, though every part of it was hallowed, every portion crowded with monuments that had received the veneration of ages, and to erect a temple, planned after those of antiquity, on its site. Michael Angelo desired a fitting receptacle for that monument to the Pope which he proposed to complete on a vast scale, and with that lofty grandeur which he has exhibited in his Moses. Yet more pressing was Bramante. It was his ambition to have space for the execution of that bold project, long before conceived, of raising high in air, on colossal pillars, an exact

copy of the Pantheon, in all the majesty of its proportions. Many cardinals remonstrated, and it would seem that there was a general opposition to the plan; so much of personal affection attaches itself to every old church, how much more then to this, the chief sanctuary of Christendom! But Julius was not accustomed to regard contradiction; without further consideration he caused one-half of the old church to be demolished, and himself laid the foundation-stone of the new one." The work was entrusted to Bramante, and was begun from his design. But it was pushed forward with such haste that after the death of Bramante it was found necessary to demolish a large part of his work on account of its weakness. Those who re-undertook this gigantic work, San Gallo Peruzzi and Raphael, preserved only the arches which supported the tower of the dome, and, destroying the rest, recommenced the edifice from a new design. So much opposition had arisen against the prosecution of this expensive undertaking that the cardinals assembled to chose a successor to Julian, bound themselves by a solemn oath that whosoever of them should be chosen Pope should not continue the work on St. Peter's. Had Leo kept this pledge he might have avoided much of the trouble in which he became involved, for a large part of the money which he raised by the obnoxious sale of indulgences was spent upon this edifice.

In the summer of 1515 the French again invaded Italy in greater force than any with which they had before crossed the Alps, to reconquer Milan. Francis I, in all the ardor of his chivalrous youth, was their leader. To oppose them Leo had only his Swiss mercenaries. The two armies met at Marignano. On the first day the combat was maintained on both sides with equal

fury. On the next it was renewed, and the Swiss, after having performed prodigies of valor, were finally defeated. This victory rendered Francis master of the Milanese. The Duke Sforza was obliged to yield it to the conqueror, and obtained in exchange a residence in France. Italy was struck with terror; Genoa hastened to submit; the Pope sent an embassy to compliment the young King on his success. What was to be done? Francis might easily make himself master of all Italy. Contrary to the advice of his cardinals, Leo betook himself to Bologna, there to have a conference with the victorious King. The conference of the two potentates was a grand and gala affair, conducted with all the courtesies imaginable. Francis came to the place of meeting accompanied by an escort of 6,000 musqueteers and 1,200 men-at-arms. The Pontiff had arrived before him and waited for him. On his entry into Bologna he was received by twenty-four cardinals all clothed in their red capes; then he was conducted to the sound of music to the pontifical palace. Leo received the young conqueror with studious politeness and overwhelmed him with compliments. "That which most captivated Francis," says one of the chroniclers of this most courteous interview, "was the graceful manner in which his holiness performed the mass. The monarch could not cease from his admiration during the performance of the sacred office, and wished so much himself to serve as train bearer, that they could scarcely prevent him from so doing."

What else could be expected than harmony and mutual concession when two young men—Francis was then aged twenty-one—opened a conference in so agreeable a manner? They seem to have had no great difficulty in coming to an agreement. Leo consented to

restore to Milan the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which had recently been acquired for the holy See by Julius II, and in return he required that Francis should abandon his ally the Duke of Urbino, whose estates added to Florence would constitute a sovereignty extending from the Tuscan Sea to the gulf of Venice. Lastly he drew from the weak Monarch an agreement to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction* under the secret condition that the Pope would aid him in conquering the Kingdom of Naples, after the death of Ferdinand of Spain. Such were the conditions of the famous Concordat of Bologna.

The securing of the abolition of the pragmatic sanction was a signal triumph for the diplomacy of Leo, and it cost nothing but a promise which, it is safe to say, the pontiff had no intention of ever keeping; for he had already determined on securing the crown of Naples for his own family. In France this concession of a privilege which had come to be considered among the dearest prerogatives of the clergy gave Francis no end of trouble; and it aroused, too, against the Pope a feeling of resentment which lost for him the sympathy and aid of the Gallican Church in the great struggle, which was already looming up, with Luther and Zwingli.

Leo carried out his plan for seizing the duchy of Urbino, an act for which he has been most severely censured. This princely house had offered refuge and hospitality to his own family when driven into exile. But it has been urged in his defense that the Duke of

*The Pragmatic Sanction, enacted in the council held at Bourges, in 1438, affirmed the liberties of the Gallican church, in close connection with allegiance rather to the King than to the Pope. It also claimed for capitular bodies and monasteries the right of electing their heads, declared the worst of the taxes laid by the Pope on the Church illegal and restrained the right of appeal to Rome.

Urbino had forfeited all claim upon his gratitude by deserting him at a critical moment. The enterprise proved a difficult one, for the Duke was secretly supported by the French and Leo was obliged, in effecting the conquest, to have recourse to artifice worthy of a Borgia. His success drew with it a long train of evils. A conspiracy is said to have been formed against his life. The treason was discovered. Cardinal Petrucci, one of the leading conspirators, was entrapped into his power and was assassinated, as he entered the Vatican. Others who were implicated, and who came to him to treat for the terms of their pardon, trusting to his promise of immunity, were seized, thrown into prison, and there poisoned or in other manner desposed of. Not one of his victims was spared. It was now that Leo, suspicious of his cardinals, resorted to the extraordinary measure of creating thirty-one new cardinals in a single day.

In 1519 the political situation was very materially affected by the appearance of a new actor upon the scene. In that year Maximilian died and his grandson and heir, Charles V, was elected to the vacant imperial throne. As heir of Ferdinand the Catholic, who died in 1516, Charles had already become the King of Spain and Naples, while through his mother he had inherited the Netherlands. Between Charles and Francis there was certain to be war, and, inasmuch as there existed an old imperial claim to the possession of Milan, it was equally certain that the war would be brought into Italy. Between these two hostile powers Leo had now to make his choice. To understand why he did not long hesitate to break with Francis and to unite his fortunes with that of the Emperor, it will be necessary to take an account of certain occurrences, very annoying to the pontiff, which were at this time taking place in Germany.

To meet the enormous expenses occasioned by his military operations and his general extravagance, Leo was obliged to tax to the utmost his ingenuity in raising money. One of the expedients to which he resorted was the imposition of tithes, on the pretext of a crusade against the Turks. But this extraordinary tax met with the most violent opposition. The nuncio sent to Spain to collect it was summarily driven from the country by Cardinal Ximenes, the Regent of the Kingdom. Other agents, sent through the different countries, returned empty handed.

This scheme for collecting money having thus signally failed, Leo next resorted to an expedient which was calculated to be more popular, since it appealed directly to the personal interest of every individual. He revived a practice instituted by the infamous Alexander VI—the sale of indulgences, or the permission to commit sin. The system was organized on a vast scale. In every province he appointed farmers general, who kept their offices in churches or monasteries, and sold indulgences for the living and the dead; and in order that no village nor hamlet should escape his rapacity, he sent legions of mendicant monks, who traversed town and country armed with bulls, to levy contributions on the inhabitants. The following is the tenor of one of these remarkable forms of absolution, delivered by Arcembold, one of the farmer generals in Saxony:

"As our the Lord Jesus Christ absolves you by the merits of His passion, I, by His authority and that of the blessed apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and that of our most holy father, absolve you from all ecclesiastical censures under which you may have fallen, from all sins, delinquencies, or excesses which you may have committed, or shall commit hereafter, how great soever they

may be, and I make you a partaker in all the spiritual merits acquired by the Church militant or its members. I restore you to the holy sacraments, to the unity of the faithful, to purity and innocence as an infant newly born, who comes to receive baptism, so that the gate of hell shall be shut against you and that of paradise opened to you on your death."

It was charged, though perhaps maliciously, against John Tetzel, another vender of indulgences, who operated also in Saxony, that he went so minutely into the cynical details of the sins of which he could remit the penalties that his circular might well be regarded as obscene literature. It is not surprising that this scandalous financial measure of the Pope stirred profoundly the feelings of the more thoughtful. A universal cry of indignation was raised against the holy See. Bold men cried out to the people, "Draw away from the dominion of the Popes, those shameless thieves who have made the temple of Christ a cave of robbers."

Among the reformers who then arose, one became remarkable from the boldness of his denunciations, the vigor of his mind, the profundity of his thoughts, and his obstinate perseverance in the strife. He placed himself at the head of the religious movement, and widened the schism which was about to dispute the Empire of the world with the Papacy. This reformer was Martin Luther.

This indefatigable enemy of the Pope was born at Eisleben, in Saxony, November 10, 1483. His father, a slate-cutter by trade, belonged to a family of free peasants. In his boyhood Martin displayed so much avidity for learning that his father resolved to make of him a lawyer. Having studied, first in a Franciscan school at Magdeburg, and afterward at Eisenach, Luther

took a bachelor's degree at Erfurt, at the age of nineteen. At Erfurt the preaching of the town's pastor, Weisemann, and in particular his frequent exhortations to study the Scriptures, made a profound impression upon him. A dangerous illness, the death of a dear friend, and other circumstances, wrought so powerfully upon him in his pious mood, that he resolved to give up all his worldly prospects and to become a monk, and in June, 1505, he entered an Augustinian Monastery.

From this monastery Luther was sent to Wittenberg, to study theology. Here his talents caused him to be chosen a professor.

In 1510 Luther was deputed to look after the affairs of his order at the court of Julius II. "I was a witness," he says in one of his works, "of so many scandalous acts, that on the day of my departure I resolved to labor during my life for the overthrow of the Papacy, and the reform of abuses which had been introduced into religion by avaricious priests or depraved pontiffs."

Such was the temper of the man who, from the pulpit of Wittenberg, now raised a stentorian voice against Tetzel and his indulgences. He wrote anxiously to the Princes and Bishops to refuse the pardon-sellers a passage through their lands, and finally unable to repress longer his indignation, he wrote out ninety-five propositions, or theses denouncing indulgences, and nailed the paper to the door of the Castle Church. This was done on the eve of All-Saints day, October 31, 1517, and this day stands marked in history as the birthday of the Reformation.

Leo, informed of these outrageous proceedings, summoned Luther to appear before him at Rome; but the elector of Saxony took him under his protection, and the matter was finally so adjusted that Luther was

cited to appear for interrogation before the Pope's legate at Augsburg. The Pope was obliged to proceed with extreme caution, for it was clear that the people of Germany were in entire sympathy with Luther; his legate was told to be conciliatory. But in spite of this instruction, the proceedings at Augsburg were conducted in so harsh a manner, that Luther, conceiving himself to be in danger, left the town by stealth and returned to Wittenberg. Here he found the elector, in great anxiety over the receipt of an imperious letter from the cardinal legate at Augsburg. Luther offered to leave Saxony and retire into France, but the elector insisted upon his remaining in Germany. A new correspondence was opened with the Pope, the result of which was an arrangement that Luther should discuss the charges against him privately with another representative of the Pope. The new legate seems at this interview to have given up Tetzel and the indulgences, and to have agreed with much of Luther's theology; but he insisted that he had not been respectful to the Pope. The result of the interview was that Luther consented to write an apologetic and explanatory letter to the Pope; and it was further agreed that Luther should discontinue preaching or writing on controverted matters, so long as he himself was not attacked.

But a disturbing element arose to break this pact of harmony. Ulrich Zwingli, a curate of Zurich, emboldened by the example of Luther, preached in Switzerland on monastic vows, the saints, the ecclesiastical hierachy, the pontifical despotism, the sacraments, and especially that of penance. To meet and counteract the effects of this alarming and new defection, the Pope promulgated a decree of council, in which was reaffirmed the principal of Papal supremacy, and in particular the power of the

Pope to remit the guilt and penalty of sins. Thus was the debated point again raised. At about the same time John Eck, in Germany, published thirteen theses against Luther, and challenged a friend and colleague of Luther, to a public disputation. Luther, considering that the terms of his compact with the Pope had been violated, now began again to let loose the thunder of his voice. He no longer confined himself to the narrow question of indulgences. He overhauled the entire history of the Church; brought to light all its irregularities; denied its authority over conscience, and ended by denouncing the Pope as anti-Christ.

It was just at the time when Luther was fulminating from his chair at Wittenberg these new and alarming doctrines, and was winning the applause of all Germany, that Charles V was elected Emperor. What were Charles' private views on the subject of this heated controversy, is a question of small importance. His attitude toward Luther would be determined entirely by political considerations. This circumstance was probably chief among those which determined Leo to seek an alliance with him rather than with Francis. With Charles with him, he might hope to quell the spirit of insubordination which had risen in Germany; but should he elect Francis, Charles could then employ Luther against him, as a most effective weapon, and Germany would be lost to the Church. In addition to this weighty reason there was another by no means inconsiderable. Leo was desirous of recovering Parma and Placentia, which he had been forced to yield to Francis. Charles readily consented to their restoration and further agreed that Milan should be left in the hands of an Italian Prince.

Having made this secret arrangement with the Em-

peror, Leo now sent to him a request to deliver Luther into his hands. Charles replied that in the existing state of feeling in Germany, such a course was impracticable, but that he would convene a diet at Worms, at which Luther should be put on trial. The diet was opened by Charles in January, 1521; but Luther was not called before it until the following April. Luther came to the diet under a safe-conduct granted by the Emperor, fully expecting a condemnation. Upon entering the judgment hall, he found his collected writings spread upon a table. Being asked by the Pope's nuncio, who presided at the trial, whether he would recant the doctrines set forth in them, he requested time for consideration, which was granted him. When he appeared before the diet on the following day, he had divided his writings into three classes, which he said must be considered separately. Those which he had written about faith and morals he *could* not retract, because even his enemies found in these nothing to condemn; those in which he had condemned the Papacy and Popish doings, he *would* not retract; those in which he had attacked private persons with perhaps more vehemence than was right—though he could not retract these, he was ready to listen to any one who pointed out errors. Further interrogation followed; but before any action could be taken, the Emperor broke up the session of the diet. On the following day he sent for Luther and held with him a private interview, after which he permitted him to return under his safe-conduct to Wittenberg. So the trial before the diet at Worms came to naught. Luther, protected by the elector of Saxony, in concealment in the castle of Wartzburg, for some time disappeared from the world's view.

The Emperor, though he had extended a protecting

hand to Luther, and was perhaps by no means desirous of seeing him fall into the power of the Pope, still found it politic for the purpose of stifling the complaints which the clergy on all sides were making against him, to issue a decree, in which he defined his position. He declared that he held Martin Luther as a heretic, and commanded him to be regarded as such by all his subjects, under the most severe penalties. He prohibited the printing, transcribing, or reading of any of his books or the abridgments published in various languages; and finally he formally prohibited the printing of any book on religious subjects, without its having been first submitted to the censor of the Pope. In this way Charles set himself right with Leo. Although Luther himself had escaped, the Pope had temporarily a victory by his outlawry.

Meanwhile, the combined forces of the Pope and the Emperor were successful in Italy. Milan was taken from Francis. Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, a cousin of the Pope, was himself on the field and entered the city with the conquering army. It was generally believed that Leo intended to confer upon this relative the duchy. Parma and Placentia were recovered, the French were compelled to withdraw, and Leo now saw executed the first part of the political scheme which he had in mind in forming his alliance with the Emperor.

The star of Leo seemed to be in the ascendant. The cloud which had gathered in Germany had been swept away; the disturber of the peace of the Church there, though not punished, was yet an outlaw and had hidden himself from sight. There was a prospect that the erring brethren in Germany would return penitent to the bosom of their mother, the Church. It is doubtful if Leo, engrossed with his political schemes, realized how

mighty was the revolt which had been raised against him and which he was to bequeath to his successors. The news of the victory of Milan came to add to his elation. The message was brought to him in the evening, to his villa of Malliana. Abandoning himself to the engrossing thoughts which naturally arose from the happy termination of so important an enterprise, he imprudently paced to and fro until a late hour at night, before an open window, through which came a malarial air from the marshes. The next day he returned to Rome, somewhat exhausted, but still in high spirits. The rejoicings there celebrated were not yet concluded, when he was taken ill and retired to his chamber. His illness had continued for a week without exciting serious apprehension, when suddenly his symptoms became alarming, and so swiftly did the end approach that he expired without having received the sacrament. There were suspicions of poison, but the circumstances have not been thought fully to have justified them. Leo died December 1, 1521, at the age of forty-four years, after having occupied the holy See eight years, eight months, and twenty days.

Leo X has been the subject of unstinted praise and of unmeasured censure, according to the point of view from which his life and character have been regarded. It is not necessary here to attempt to strike a balance between his good and his bad qualities. Of his failings, considered from a worldly point of view, his reckless extravagance was the most unfortunate. Its consequence in leading him to resort to the obnoxious sale of indulgences to replenish his treasury, has already been presented. At home it cost him the love of his people. The Roman populace could not forgive him for having spent so much money, and yet leaving so great debts.

They pursued his body to the grave with insults and reproaches. "Thou hast crept in like a fox," they exclaimed, "like a lion hast thou ruled us, and like a dog thou hast died." After times, however, have designated a century and a great epoch by his name.

Men have questioned his title to this honor; and, indeed, it must not be forgotten that, while he was a generous patron of art and letters and deserving of all praise for recognizing and fostering merit wherever found, the real luster of the "Age of Leo" was shed upon it by the great masters—Michael Angelo, Raphael, Ariosto—whose transcendent genius required no patron and would have wrought the same had no Leo ever existed. As has been well remarked by Ranke, Leo X was peculiarly favored by circumstances. His character had been formed in the midst of those elements that fashioned the world of his day, and he had liberality of mind and susceptibility of feeling that fitted him for the furtherance of its progress and the enjoyment of its advantages. If he found pleasure in the efforts of those who were but imitators of the Latin, still more would the works of his contemporaries delight him. It was in his presence that the first tragedy was performed, and (despite the objections liable to be found in a play imitating Plautus) the first comedy also that was produced in the Italian language; there is, indeed, scarcely one that was not first seen by him. Ariosto was among the friends of his youth. Machiavelli composed more than one of his works expressly for him. His halls, galleries, and chapels were filled by Raphael, with the rich ideal of human beauty, and with the purest expression of life in its most varied forms. He was a passionate lover of music, a more scientific practice of which was then

becoming diffused throughout Italy. The sounds of music were daily heard floating through the palace, Leo himself humming the airs that were performed. This may all be considered a sort of intellectual sensuality, but it is at least the only one which does not degrade the man. Leo X was full of kindness and ready sympathies. Rarely did he refuse a request, and when compelled to do so, evinced his reluctance by the gentlest expressions. He was fond of rural sports, and particularly of hunting and fishing. His favorite haunt in summer was his villa of Malliana, whither he was accompanied by the improvisatori and other men of light and agreeable talents capable of making every hour pass pleasantly. Toward winter he returned with his company to Rome, which was now in great prosperity, the number of its inhabitants having increased fully one-third within a few years. Here the mechanic found employment, the artist honor, and safety was assured to all. Never had the court been more animated, more graceful, more intellectual. In matters of festivities, whether spiritual or temporal, no cost was spared, nor was any expenditure found too lavish when the question was of amusements, theaters, presents, or marks of favor. But, as has been intimated already, this splendid court was characterized by a lack of religious sentiment and conviction quite out of harmony with the character of its presiding spirit as the head of the Christian Church. Philosophers disputed here as to whether the reasonable soul were really immaterial and immortal, but one single spirit only and common to mankind, or whether it were absolutely mortal; and Leo, far from discountenancing these discussions, took a part and a lively interest in them. A knowledge of these practices of Leo, and of his hetero-

dox opinions on the subject of Christianity—for there was no secret about the matter—could not fail to add to the horror created in the minds of the sincerely pious by his claim to the power to remit the penalties of sin, and seemed to justify the name of anti-Christ, with which he was branded by the great German reformer.

CHARLES V

1500-1558

RISE OF THE AUSTRO-SPANISH EMPIRE

Charles of Austria, who became King of Spain and Emperor of Germany under the title of Charles V, was born at Ghent, on February 24, 1500. His father was the Archduke Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy, who, as the heiress of Charles the Bold, became Queen of Flanders; his mother was Joanna, second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, to whose united sway all Spain was subject. By the early death of Mary her son Philip had become sovereign of the Netherlands while still a child. Joanna, his wife, became upon the death of her only brother and her eldest sister the heiress of both Castile and Aragon, and of the many important possessions attached to them, including the Kingdom of Naples and the "New World," then recently discovered. The prospects of the young Prince Charles were, therefore, of the most brilliant character.

But the boy who was destined to this vast inheritance was less fortunate in his parents. His father, who was commonly known as Philip the Handsome, was vain and frivolous, possessed of no capacity for affairs; his mother, who had never been distinguished for the strength of her understanding, was reduced by poor health, after the birth of a second son, Ferdinand, to a condition of mental imbecility.

In 1504 occurred the death of Isabella. Irritated by

the conduct of her son-in-law, she had appointed Ferdinand Regent of Castile until her grandson, Charles, had attained to the age of twenty, when the Government was to devolve upon him. Philip entered into a contest with Ferdinand for the Regency, and succeeded in obtaining the position; but he lived only three months to enjoy the honor of being in effect the King of Castile.

By the death of his father, Charles, at the age of six, became sovereign of the Netherlands. The unhappy condition of his mother deprived him of all parental care, but the maternal place was supplied, as well as might be, by his aunt Margaret of Austria, and by Margaret of York, the widow of Charles the Bold. Soon after his father's death, Maximilian, who had assumed the Regency of the Netherlands, placed the young sovereign under the charge of two tutors, William de Croy, Lord of Chievres, and Adrian of Utrecht. The former was charged with his military training, and he aimed, not merely to make of his pupil an accomplished knight, but also to imbue him with that historical knowledge and statecraft which would be essential to him in his future career. To Adrian, who was a great theologian, was entrusted Charles' literary training. But the selection seems not to have been particularly fortunate. At any rate, Charles never acquired a sufficient knowledge of Latin to be able to write or to speak in that language of diplomacy, the Latin then holding the position of French at the present day. Yet, it is said, curiously enough, on good authority, that Charles in the course of his life became the master of fourteen languages.

In 1516, at the solicitation of the Netherlanders, Maximilian relinquished the Regency, and Charles, at the age of sixteen, was invested with the full rights of

sovereignty. This event was followed by one of still greater importance, the death of Ferdinand of Aragon.

Since the death of Philip, Ferdinand had governed Castile in behalf of his daughter and her young son, Charles. When the will of Ferdinand was opened, it was found that he had conferred this Regency upon Cardinal Ximenes, the Archbishop of Toledo, and one of the ablest statesmen of his day. Ximenes at once entered upon the duties of his office; but presently arrived Adrian of Utrecht, who produced a document in which the young Prince had conferred upon him the Regency of Castile, in the event of Ferdinand's death. This seemed to bring Ximenes into direct conflict with his sovereign; still he maintained that until Charles appeared in person to assume the Government he was the legal Regent of the Kingdom. The result was a compromise—a joint Regency—though in effect the dominant character of Ximenes made him the sole ruler of Castile for a period of two years.

No sooner did the news of the death of Ferdinand reach Brussels, than Charles, notwithstanding that his mother still lived, looked upon himself as the King of Spain. After consulting both the Pope and the Emperor, he openly assumed the title. This action greatly offended the Spaniards, who maintained that in the existing state of things, the proper arrangement to be made could be determined only by the Cortes. Cardinal Ximenes was thus placed in an embarrassing position, for though he concurred in the general opinion he saw the advisability of yielding to Charles, who was the virtual sovereign. Accordingly, in spite of violent opposition in a council of the nobility which met at Madrid to discuss the question at issue, he ordered Charles to be pro-

claimed King in Madrid and through all the provinces. Ximenes had now a difficult part to play. The nobility hated him; but he acted with so much prudence and energy that, powerful as they were, they could do nothing against him. Yet their insolence was repressed and his authority maintained only by a demonstration of military force. He called upon the various towns of the Kingdom to raise troops, offering special inducements to enlistment; and though some of the cities refused to respond to his demand, he ultimately carried into effect his scheme of providing a strong national militia subject solely to his orders.

These troubles in Spain made obvious to Charles the necessity of his own presence in that country; and the cardinal himself strongly urged him to come and take possession of the Government. But, greatly to the chagrin of Ximenes, one of the first acts of Charles upon reaching Spain was to give the cardinal permission to retire from the cares of government to his diocese, and to instal in his place Adrian of Utrecht. Ximenes felt his removal keenly, for he was conscious that only his strong measures had secured the Kingdom for his sovereign. He was now eighty years old, and he did not long survive this cold, if not unjust, treatment. Charles learning of the cardinal's failing health, sent him a kindly letter. It may have soothed the feelings of Ximenes, but it could not delay his end.

The Cortes were now assembled, first that of Aragon, then that of Castile. There was much delay and hesitancy in both of these bodies over recognizing Charles as King; but both yielded in the end, though in Castile he was allowed the sovereignty only conjointly with his mother. Then followed the granting of supplies—600,000 ducats, in the case of Castile, to be paid

in three yearly installments—and Charles was fairly established sovereign over the undivided Kingdom of Spain.

Now followed troubles. The people were pleased neither with the manner nor the conduct of their new sovereign. He was generally regarded as a young man of feeble capacity, who, after inflicting innumerable evils upon Spain, might fall into the same deplorable condition as his mother. But what was particularly offensive to the Spaniards, was that the Flemings whom Charles had brought with him monopolized the offices, and treated the nobility with insolence. Against Chievres the hostilities were especially bitter. Chievres was an able man, and an admirable minister; but he was possessed of the vice of avarice. He was charged with selling offices and he was believed to be amassing enormous wealth. And to this heinous offence he added that of giving the chief offices of the State to foreigners.

While the public discontent in Spain was at its height, word came that Charles had been elected Emperor of Germany. On the death of Maximilian (in 1519) he had become a candidate for the vacant throne, but he had a powerful rival in Francis I of France. The electors were the seven chief Princes of Germany, and to gain their favor both candidates made strenuous efforts. The choice finally fell upon Charles, though not until the crown had first been offered to, and declined by, the elector of Saxony. The chief objection to Charles seems to have been the great extent of his dominions, and a fear lest he might be tempted to use his power for the subversion of the liberties of the German Princes. But it was wisely concluded by the electors that in the existing state of European affairs a strong hand was needed, that a weak Emperor would

bring contempt upon himself and might involve Germany in ruin.

The Spaniards were by no means delighted to see their King elected Emperor. It was seen at once that Spain would be reduced to the condition of a mere province, and would cease to be the object of Charles' sole care. Strong efforts were made to prevent him from leaving the country. The Cortes showed a disposition to refuse to grant him the supply of money for which he called to defray the expenses of his journey into Germany. At Valladolid a popular tumult was raised, and Charles in consequence adjourned the Cortes to meet at Santiago. Some of the deputies refused to attend, and when the needed money was finally granted it was under a protest from the absent representatives.

Charles now set out for Germany to receive the imperial crown. On his way to Flanders he turned aside to pay a visit to Henry VIII of England, whom he was most anxious to conciliate. He then journeyed by way of Flanders to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was crowned with the usual ceremonies. Thence he proceeded to Worms, and presided over the imperial diet, which met in that city on the 28th of January, 1521.

By leaving Spain without having first satisfied the just complaints of the people and without having made a satisfactory arrangement for the Government of his Kingdom during his absence, Charles, in his eagerness to place upon his head the imperial crown, nearly lost by far the most valuable part of his inheritance. He had left in command in Spain Adrian of Utrecht, his old tutor in the classics, a worthy man, no doubt, but quite incapable of managing a Kingdom in a time of turbulence; and turbulence soon began. When the doings of

the Cortes at Santiago and the departure of Charles from Spain became known, a wild paroxysm of rage ran through the whole country. The deputies to the Cortes on returning to their constituents, were received with abuse and execration, as the betrayers of their country, and in many places their houses were mobbed and their lives were placed in danger. In Segovia the attack was carried a step farther, a deputy was actually hanged on the gallows between two thieves.

What was Adrian to do? He was a man little disposed to adopt strong measures; yet it seemed to him that to let this outrage pass unpunished, would be a virtual confession of the impotence of the Government, and would draw on it additional insult. One of his advisers recommended caution, pointing out that the Spaniards really had some grounds for being in a bad humor, and that they should be managed. But Adrian decided upon using force, and sent Ronquillo, one of the royal judges, with a considerable body of troops, to reduce Segovia to submission. The result was as might have been anticipated. The country was aroused. Other towns sent troops to the assistance of Segovia, Toledo, one of the most troublesome to Charles of all the Spanish cities, sent 1,800 men, and the number soon increased to 40,000. Ronquillo was in great danger, and a larger force was sent to his support, under Don Antonio Fonseca, whom Charles had made commander-in-chief of the Spanish army. Fonseca found it desirable to get possession of a large quantity of artillery and military stores, which were deposited in the town of Medina del Campo. In his attempt to take them he was opposed by the inhabitants of the town. In the fight which ensued the town was set on fire by his order,

and a large part of it was destroyed; still the resistance was so stubborn that Fonseca was obliged to retire defeated.

This occurrence aroused through Castile the greatest indignation. At Valladolid the house of Fonseca was attacked and burned to the ground. That unlucky commander, after his repulse at Medina, had proceeded to Tordesillas, in order to get possession of the Queen; but he was foiled in this enterprise also; the gate of the city was shut in his face by the plucky Alcalde. Soon after Fonseca was removed from his command. Both he and Ronquillo, deeming Spain no longer a safe place of residence, fled to Portugal, and thence to Brussels.

The popular uprising quickly assumed the character of an organized rebellion. A leader appeared in Don John de Padilla, a patriotic and energetic citizen of Toledo. The first step taken was the calling of a Cortes which might fairly claim to represent the Nation. This Cortes met at Avila on the 29th of July, 1520. It was made up mostly of deputies from the cities and towns, but contained also some representatives of the nobility and clergy. It was desired by the leaders of the uprising to give to their proceedings as great a show of legality as possible. Accordingly, Padilla was sent to Tordesillas to hold an interview with the Queen. This object he effected without difficulty, and he seems to have succeeded in making poor Joanna understand who he was and what he wanted. At any rate she commissioned him Captain-General, and instructed him to take steps to secure the tranquillity of the Kingdom. The Cortes now removed its sittings to Tordesillas, and attempted to use the Queen's name for their purposes. For a while they seemed likely to succeed. The Queen seemed to understand what was wanted, and assented

verbally to various propositions submitted to her; but she could not be coaxed into signing papers.

The Cortes, foiled in this attempt to use the Queen's name, now drew up a long list of grievances, to be submitted to Charles, and they also drew up a constitution limiting the power of the sovereign, reducing it, in fact, almost to nullity. Had this constitution ever been presented to Charles and been insisted upon, it would certainly have plunged the country into a civil war. But it soon became evident that the higher clergy and the nobility were opposed to the extreme measures adopted in the Cortes.

At first the success of the popular party—the Comunidades, as they were called—had been astonishing, and had been obtained without a struggle. Adrian, without money and without troops, was powerless. He could only write to the Emperor and describe his deplorable condition. City after city took part in the movement, Valladolid, the seat of the Government, with the rest. The Government was virtually dissolved; and though Adrian himself was well treated, some of his councillors were arrested and imprisoned. Spain was practically without a government; a reign of anarchy began, with the usual calamities and excesses. Valencia, in particular, suffered from the lawless rule of the multitude. The Viceroy was driven from the city and all the nobles and gentry, with their wives and children were compelled to follow him. A Government of the people was set up; a large military force was organized, and several other towns were induced to follow the example of Valencia.

And now set in a reaction. The higher classes became alarmed at the obvious tendency of the movement, and rallied to the support of the Government.

The first decided success of the royal party, thus strengthened, was the recapture of the Tordesillas and the Queen. But the struggle continued for a while, until Padilla, the leader of the forces of the Comunidades, was captured at Villelar, through the defection of his troops, who refused to fight longer for a lost cause. Padilla was summarily tried for treason, together with another leader, Bravo, and both were executed.

The victorious party of the King followed up its successes with prudent and commendable moderation. No disposition was shown to wreak vengeance upon the revolted cities. The severity of the reëstablished authorities was satisfied with these two executions, which, indeed, were warranted by the law of Nations, for Padilla and his associates had undoubtedly been guilty of high treason. Upon none of the cities was any punishment inflicted. Even Toledo, the most offending among them, was left with all its rights and privileges unimpaired. The rebellion had destroyed itself by its own violence. All parties seemed disposed to accept it as a lesson of the danger to be apprehended from a violent disruption of the established order of things, and its ultimate effect was no doubt greatly to strengthen the royal authority, which at one time it seemed likely to overthrow.

Charles returned to Spain in 1522, and his first proceeding was to put the finishing touches to the settlement of the great rebellion. He issued a proclamation, in which he granted full pardon to all the common people who had been engaged in it; but from the general amnesty 200 of the more prominent actors, whom he declared to have been guilty of treason, were excepted and condemned to death. The greater number of these, however, saved themselves by flight, and others by

money or influence bought their pardon and even a restitution of their property.

His next measure was to effect a constitutional change of the utmost importance both to himself and his people. Hitherto it had been the practice of the Cortes to state its grievances before it took up the consideration of the question of supply. Charles summoned a Cortes to meet at Valladolid, and this question of the order of business was made the leading one. Charles insisted that the question of supply should be disposed of before the presentation of grievances. There is no need to point out the importance of the change. Charles expected to be engaged in foreign wars, in which his Spanish subjects would have little or no interest, and he had no mind to be hampered at home by being obliged to purchase the money that might be doled out to him by continual concessions. The Cortes, weakened by the breach made between the commonalty and the nobility by the insurrection, found itself in no position to resist this demand, and yielded when it became apparent that Charles would attempt to carry his point by force if it could not be gained otherwise.

From this time forward Charles sought in every way to gain the good will of his Spanish subjects. He spent most of his time among them, residing at various cities in succession, that his presence might become familiar to all his people. He spoke Spanish fluently, and his manners either naturally or gradually became conformable to those of his subjects. His marriage with a Princess of Portugal, in 1526, was also agreeable to his people. The Spanish had little sympathy with his foreign enterprises, but the glory and power obtained by the Emperor was reflected in a measure upon them, and to some extent reconciled them to its cost.

Charles was always in need of money with which to carry on his vast foreign enterprises, and resorted to every practicable means for drawing it from the Spanish people. The Cortes was never convened except for this purpose, and since he held the whip-hand over it, he could always extort from it something. It is not easy to form a correct estimate of the revenue which Charles derived from Spain. We know, however, that it was derived from four sources; (1) the royal domains, (2) one-third of the tithes, (3) a tax termed the alacava, and (4) a supply, or service, granted every three years by the various Cortes of the Kingdom. How much he derived from the first three of these sources, there are no means of ascertaining; from the Cortes he probably received about four million ducats annually. The amount of money extracted from Spain in the whole course of his reign was something enormous, and the greater part of it was expended outside the Kingdom. Indeed for a period of eighty years, under Charles and his successors, the wealth of Spain was exhausted in the prosecution of wars in which she had little or no interest. After the stream ceased to pour in from America, she became practically bankrupt. With the close of the Cortes held at Valladolid the constitutional history of Spain under Charles ceases. Thenceforward the theater of his action lay outside of that country.

We come now to the story of the life-long contest between Charles V and Francis I of France. There were several circumstances which rendered a war between these two monarchs unavoidable. In the first place, Charles, as sovereign of the Netherlands, was naturally an object of distrust and apprehension to a King of France. The Netherlands had formed only a

portion of the possessions bequeathed to his heirs by Charles the Bold, the last Duke of Burgundy, the larger portion having been seized by Louis XI and annexed to France. Charles, the descendant and heir of the Duke, was in a position to contest with Francis the claim to this extensive province. In Italy there was still another subject of dispute. Louis XII, in conjunction with Ferdinand of Aragon, had captured Naples, and, expelling its native rulers, had made a division of the spoil obtained by an unprovoked aggression. But Ferdinand, by craft and force, had at last succeeded in securing the sole possession of Naples, and this Kingdom formed a part of the inheritance of Charles. The success of Ferdinand in outwitting Louis had deeply mortified the French pride, and any attempt to regain what had been so ignominiously lost was likely to prove popular with the Nation.

Italy was destined to be the theater of the inevitable war. It began with a contest over Milan. Since the year 1447, the succession to the duchy of Milan had been a matter of dispute between the Sforzas and the Kings of France, on the grounds of certain provisions in an old marriage contract, and in 1499 Louis XII had succeeded in gaining possession of the city. The Duke had been taken into France by Louis, and had been kept in imprisonment until his death. His son had, however, succeeded in regaining possession of the duchy, which he held until 1515, when Francis I succeeded to the throne of France. The young monarch, eager to regain the duchy lost by his predecessor, crossed the Alps, and by a victory gained at Marignano, was completely successful. To secure his conquest, Francis entered into an alliance with the Pope, and also

with Henry VIII, and in 1516 he concluded a treaty with Charles, the young King of Spain and of the Netherlands.

But no sooner had Charles become Emperor, than new political combinations began forming. The Pope, Leo X, decided to court the friendship of Charles and to cut loose from Francis. In 1516 he effected an alliance between himself, the Emperor, and Henry VIII, the purpose of which was to deprive Francis of Milan, and also to attack France itself. The Spanish and Papal troops invaded the Milanese, and with little difficulty defeated the French and compelled them to withdraw from Italy.

Two years later this alliance was strengthened by the defection from France of the powerful Duke of Bourbon. The Duke had a grievance—a quarrel with Francis over family matters—which led him to open a traitorous correspondence with Charles. Bourbon undertook to support Charles with all his dependants as soon as he should make his meditated invasion of France. The plot was discovered; the Duke saved his life by flight, and as a reward of his defection, as well as in recognition of his ability, he was put in command of the allied forces in Italy.

The Imperialists, having first defeated a French force sent by Francis into Italy, invaded France and besieged Marseilles. But at the end of six weeks, having failed to capture the city, they raised the siege and returned into Italy. Francis, at the head of a powerful army, followed them. He was bent upon recapturing Milan, but instead of marching directly upon that city, he laid siege to Pavia. The time wasted here gave Bourbon and Pescara, who commanded the Imperialists, a chance to con-

centrate their forces. They advanced to raise the siege, and on the 24th of February, 1525, was fought the battle of Pavia. The two armies were about equal in number. The French were defeated and fled in disorder, and Francis, fighting stubbornly with a few devoted companions, was taken prisoner.

And now came the question of the ransom of the captive monarch. Charles was not the man to lose so splendid an opportunity for reaping a political advantage. The price demanded for the liberty of Francis was the province of Burgundy. To surrender to Charles that extensive territory would be to reduce France to a third-rate power, and Francis would not entertain the proposition for a moment. He was induced to believe that in a personal interview he might secure from Charles better terms, and he consented to be taken to Spain, where he was placed in close confinement. Charles for a long time refused him a personal interview, though he wrote him very polite letters. Meanwhile, Louisa of Savoy, the mother of Francis, who acted as Regent, corresponded with Charles and made every effort to obtain more favorable terms. Francis was seized with a severe illness; his life was said to be in danger. Charles visited him in his prison, but he refused to talk about serious matters and urged his prisoner guest to think of nothing but the restoration of his health. The sister of Francis, the Duchess of Alençon, received permission to visit Spain and attend upon her brother. She not only did so, but became a most active mediator for his liberation.

Francis had been kept in confinement for nearly a year before he brought himself finally to yield to the demands of Charles, and he did so with a mental reservation. He signed a treaty with Charles by which he

bound himself unequivocally to surrender Burgundy, or to return to prison if he should find himself unable to carry out this stipulation, and, as a guarantee of his good faith, to deliver up as hostages his two sons, the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans.

Upon these terms Francis was released. Charles would seem from the extraordinary precautions he took to bind him with oaths, to have had little faith that he would keep his promise, and Francis had certainly no intention of so doing.

The defeat and capture of Francis filled Europe with a dread of the power of Charles, and led to a new political combination. Henry VIII entered into immediate negotiations with the Regent of France. In Italy a close alliance for common defence against the Emperor was formed by the Pope, Clement VII, the Duke of Milan, and the Venetians, and a league was soon formed between these Italian States and England and France. The French Assembly, when the treaty made with Charles was laid before it, declared that the King had no right to alienate any portion of the National territory, and about the same time the Pope released Francis from the oaths he had taken in Madrid.

And now an astounding event took place in Italy. The forces under the Duke of Bourbon were in a very disorganized state. Irritated by the long arrears of pay due them, they were on the point of mutiny. Bourbon, unable to meet their just demands, conceived the idea of appeasing them with plunder. The place selected for pillage was no less a place than the city of Rome. The appearance of the Duke with his army before the city was unlooked for, and the city was thrown into the utmost consternation. Still, some effort was made to repel the assailants, and Bourbon was himself killed in

attempting to scale the walls. The command then devolved upon the Prince of Orange. Resistance was soon overcome, and the soldiery rushed into the doomed city. The Pope had barely time to gain a safe retreat in the Castle of St. Angelo.

The scenes which followed seem to have surpassed anything which had ever taken place on a similar occasion. The Germans, who composed the largest portion of Bourbon's army, and called themselves Lutherans, manifested their reforming zeal by subjecting sacred things and sacred persons to every kind of contumely. Cardinals and all ranks of the clergy were treated with peculiar ignominy, and the churches were pitilessly plundered. The Spaniards and Italians, if they did not take part in the insults offered to the Catholic religion, did nothing to prevent them, but were busily occupied in gratifying their avarice and their brutal passions.

The Pope, shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo, saw no prospect of foreign aid, and was soon reduced to the greatest extremity from want of supplies. In this condition the only course left was to enter negotiations with the Prince of Orange, now leader of the Imperial army. The Pope consented to remain a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo until the conditions, including the payment of a large sum of money, to which he had agreed, should be complied with. Thus, within two years, Charles had held as prisoner the King of France, one of the most powerful of the monarchs of Europe, and the Pope, whom all Christendom acknowledged as its spiritual ruler. When the Emperor heard of the Pope's captivity he affected extreme grief, declared that Rome had been attacked contrary to his orders, and directed public prayers to be made throughout Spain for the recovery of the Pope's liberty.

The capture of Rome and the indignities suffered by the Pope gave the Kings of England and France a plausible ground for a declaration of war against the Emperor. Italy, as on former occasions, was the chief theater of hostilities, and Francis now turned his arms against the South. Lautrec, at the head of 35,000 men, was sent to attack Naples. For a time he met with little or no resistance, for the Neapolitans detested the Spanish yoke as much as they had done that of France when she ruled over them. The whole Kingdom, with the exception of Naples and Gæta, fell into the hands of the French, and it seemed almost certain that the two cities would soon be compelled to surrender. But Lautrec was not properly supported by his sovereign. Either from inability or negligence Francis paid no attention to his solicitations for supplies and troops. Moreover, just at this time Francis had the imprudence to quarrel with Admiral Doria, the commander of the Genoese fleet, who as an ally had hitherto coöperated with his land forces, but who now transferred his services to the Emperor. Disease and anxiety of mind so preyed upon Lautrec that he soon after died. His successor proved to be little fitted to cope with the difficulties in which he was involved. Disease had thinned the ranks of his army; active operations were out of the question; he attempted retreat, but was met by the Imperialists under the Prince of Orange, and was compelled to make a disgraceful capitulation. Nor had Francis elsewhere met with any success to offset this disaster. He became heartily sick of a war which was everywhere adverse to him. Fortunately for Francis his desire for peace was shared by the Emperor, whose resources were just now in a deplorable condition. The terms of peace finally agreed upon at Cambray (1529) were that Francis

should pay two million crowns for the ransom of his sons, who were still held by Charles as hostages for the execution of the treaty of Madrid; that he should relinquish all his pretensions in Italy, and should satisfy the heirs of the Duke of Burgundy. As to the matter of the surrender of Burgundy, Charles still asserted his claim, but consented to waive it on condition that Francis marry his sister Eleanor, the Queen dowager of Portugal, and that their son, if they had one, should inherit Burgundy.

Although after his election by the German Princes and his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, Charles had entered into full possession of the Imperial power, he was not strictly speaking entitled to the title of Emperor until he had been crowned in Italy by the Pope or his representative. As soon as peace was established Charles proceeded to Italy and took up his residence at Bologna. It was in this city that the Cardinal of Cinque-Port placed upon his head the iron crown of Lombardy, and Pope Clement VII that of Emperor of the Romans.

Charles now visited Germany, where the troubled condition of affairs demanded his presence. The rapid progress made by Luther, and the daily increasing number of his adherents of all ranks, seemed to threaten the country with the calamity of a civil war, in which it would be necessary for the Emperor to take a decided stand on one side or the other. It was the great object of his policy to prevent matters from coming to this extremity. In this he succeeded. But his temporizing measures both displeased the Catholics and were so unsatisfactory to the Protestants that at last they entered into a league for their mutual protection, known from the place at which it was concluded, as the League of

Smalkald. To relieve himself of the necessity of a constant attention to the affairs of Germany, Charles prevailed upon the electors to chose his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans, and as such Ferdinand was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle. Against this act the League of Smalkald vigorously protested. They went to the extreme of appealing for aid in their quarrel with the Emperor to the Kings of France and England. It looked as though Charles was about to have trouble with his Protestant subjects, when a great danger which suddenly loomed up in the East had the effect of allaying the animosities of both Catholics and Lutherans and uniting them for a time in the defence of their common Christianity.

The Sultan Solyman had assembled an immense army, with the design first to attack Hungary and then Germany. Three years before this time Solyman had conquered a part of Hungary and had slain its King in the battle of Mohacz. The expedition which he now prepared was far more formidable, and might well inspire Europe with the gravest apprehensions. He had collected an army of 300,000 men, it was said. To act against this able and powerful enemy Charles and his brother assembled troops from every quarter, and the army which they succeeded in collecting, although numerically far inferior to that of the Turks, was still very large, consisting of nearly 100,000 disciplined soldiers and a vast number of irregular troops. With this army Charles set out to meet the invading host, while all Europe awaited the outcome of the campaign with breathless interest. Charles had never before commanded an army, but he had in him the elements of a soldier, and he proved himself a match for his able and experienced antagonist. He so managed his cam-

paign as to come to no general engagement, and yet so to control the movements of Solyman as to afford him no opportunity of gaining even the most trifling advantage. Solyman finally deemed it prudent to retreat, not without having suffered considerable loss. He returned to Constantinople, and Europe again breathed freely.

Three years after this brilliant campaign against the Turks, Charles undertook (in 1535) another military expedition, which added to his laurels. The corsair Barbarossa, born in the most obscure position, had, by his daring courage and his naval skill, raised himself to the rank of a powerful Prince. Algiers was the first seat of his power, but by treachery and force he had succeeded in obtaining possession of the far more important State of Tunis. Issuing from this stronghold with his fleets, he committed innumerable depredations upon the coast of Spain and Italy. Every year numerous prisoners were captured and transported to Barbary, where they were kept in the most cruel bondage. Charles, finding his affairs in Europe in such a state as to permit his temporary absence, determined, in the interest, not only of his own subjects, but of all Christendom, to break up this nest of dreaded pirates. Espousing, for the sake of a pretext, the cause of Muley Hassan, the King whom Barbarossa had expelled from Tunis, Charles crossed the Mediterranean with a fleet of 300 sail, including galleys furnished by the King of Portugal and Pope Clement VII, and a force of 35,000 foot and 3,000 horse. Having captured, after hard fighting, the fort which protected the harbor of Tunis, and getting possession of the pirate fleet, he next defeated Barbarossa in battle, and drove him into the desert. Then, entering Tunis, he released the

Christian captives, and seated Muley Hassan on the throne. Muley became, of course, the vassal of Charles, and, to make his allegiance sure, Charles stipulated that the fort should be garrisoned by 2,000 imperial troops. It was further stipulated with the vassal King that every year he should send the Emperor six Moorish horses and twelve hawks, as a mark of his dependence. All Europe applauded the commendable enterprise of the Emperor. Even Francis I had the grace, during the absence of Charles, to abstain from any act of hostility against him. The capture of Tunis added immensely to his fame, and the slaves whom he had liberated sang his praises throughout Christendom.

Soon after his return from Tunis, Charles again became involved in war with Francis. Milan was again the cause of their disagreement. The Duke of Milan had died without issue, and Francis took the occasion to revive his claim to the duchy. Having failed, in his negotiations with Charles, to make some arrangement whereby the duchy might be bestowed upon his second son, the Duke of Orleans, he determined to attempt to recover it by force. He began by picking a quarrel with his uncle, the Duke of Savoy, and attacking and conquering his dominions, that he might hold Piedmont securely when he should enter Italy. The Duke of Savoy appealed to Charles for aid. War between the two great monarchs was now unavoidable. The signal success of the Emperor at Tunis had inspired him with a high opinion of his good fortune and his ability as a general, and he anticipated, in the impending war with Francis, a still more speedy and complete triumph. He was at the head of a fine army of 50,000 foot, 5,000 horse, many light troops, and an abundant supply of artillery. In imagination he had already

marched upon Paris, and imposed his own terms upon his unfortunate rival.

With this splendid army, Charles entered France from Italy on the 25th of July, 1536, exactly one year from the date of his landing in Africa. His confidence, and the boastful arrogance with which, in a harangue to his troops, he lauded himself, and laid claim to the peculiar favor of Heaven, is said to have disgusted even some of his own officers. He was doomed to a complete and ignominious failure. He had expected to win a great battle, and then to march triumphantly to Paris. But he found before him, in Montmorency, who commanded the army of Francis, an able antagonist, who fought him with new tactics which he was not prepared to encounter. Montmorency declined an engagement, but, retreating before him, laid waste the country. Charles, finding it impossible to force a battle, turned aside, and laid siege to Marseilles. It soon became apparent that to reduce this place would take more time than he could afford to spare, nor did Montmorency attempt to raise the siege. Charles now left Marseilles and advanced to Avignon, where Montmorency had established himself in a fortified camp. But no inducement could prevail upon the constable to hazard a battle, and Charles became convinced, at last, that nothing but a retreat from the desolated country could save his army. This retreat of Charles from France is described as one of the most pitiable of similar movements recorded in history. Its course was strewn with the dead and dying, while multitudes of sick, who could neither walk nor ride, were of necessity left behind. Many of the chief officers of the imperial army had died during this miserable campaign, and more than one-half of the army had perished. As

soon as its remnants had reached Italy, Charles left it, and hastened to Barcelona, to concert measures for repairing his disasters.

The war was still continued for a time, though carried on in a languishing manner, for Francis showed no disposition to enter Italy, until, finally, the Pope used his good offices to restore peace between the two rivals. A truce for ten years was concluded at Nice, of which the chief condition was that Charles should retain Milan, while to Francis was given the larger portion of Savoy.

The terms of the truce having been arranged, the two sovereigns had a personal interview, and, soon after, they and their respective courts met and celebrated the happy event by a season of becoming festivities. The two monarchs, who had so long done their utmost to injure each other, seemed now, not merely to have dropped their enmity, but to have replaced it with cordial friendship. The project of a personal alliance was discussed between them, though nothing came of it, and the scheme was probably never seriously entertained by Charles. Yet, so eager was Francis to deserve the favor of his new friend, that, soon after the conclusion of the truce of Nice, he did one of the meanest things of which a monarch could be guilty. Ghent, the chief city of Flanders, impatient at the severe taxation and arbitrary measures of Charles, formed a design of throwing off its allegiance to him. The attempt was hopeless without foreign aid. The citizens of Ghent sent an embassy to Francis with an offer to place themselves under his dominion if he would protect them against the Emperor. Francis not merely declined the offer, but he disclosed to Charles the intentions of his rebellious subjects. He did more.

He offered Charles the privilege of passing through France on his way from Spain to put down the rebellion.

Charles accepted the offer of Francis, though apparently not without distrust, which proved, however, to have been ill-grounded. Upon entering France he was received with the greatest honors by the two sons of Francis and the constable Montmorency. He journeyed toward Paris, and before reaching that city he was met by his royal host, who treated him with the highest demonstrations of respect. The two monarchs entered Paris together, and Charles was everywhere received with the same honors which were paid to the King himself. The Emperor remained some time in France, and during his visit there was a succession of fêtes, princes and courtiers doing their best to make him pass his time agreeably. Then he continued on his way to Ghent, and punished the conspirators.

The capture of Tunis had not put an end to piracy. Hassan-Aga, who had served under Barbarossa, had established himself in Algiers, and had made his name as terrible to the Christians as had Barbarossa. Charles determined to destroy this new den of pirates, but his expedition against Algiers proved a disastrous failure. Contrary to the advice of Admiral Doria, he sailed for Algiers at a late season of the year. After his troops had landed, a violent storm arose, which caused the greatest suffering and despondency in his own camp, while, at the same time, it raised the hopes of the enemy. The Moors attacked the camp with the greatest fury. They were at last repulsed, but not until they had slain many men and created general consternation. But worse had been the effect of the storm at sea. Fifteen ships of war and 140 transports were wrecked, with a great loss both of men and military stores. After this

disaster no other course was open to the Emperor but to accept defeat and to return to Spain.

The peace established by the truce of Nice was not of long duration. Francis had not yet given up the hope of obtaining Milan. But Charles, in spite of his professed friendship, refused to make with him any acceptable arrangement respecting it. Francis, deciding that the enmity of the Emperor was preferable to his friendship, entered into an alliance against him with the Sultan and the Venetians. Two of his envoys on their way to Venice were assassinated by order of the Viceroy of Milan, and when Charles refused to give satisfaction for the outrage, Francis declared war against him.

Francis put five armies into the field; but nowhere in the first campaign were any great successes won on either side. In the second year Charles formed an alliance with Henry VIII, the avowed object of which was the partition of France. Charles claimed Burgundy, and Henry was to have the rest. In pursuance of this arrangement, Henry VIII attacked the north of France, in 1544, and captured Boulogne. Charles, on his side, laid siege to St. Dizier, which he at length succeeded in capturing. But, while fortune was against Francis in the north, he gained a brilliant success over the imperial troops in Provence, driving them back into Italy. The war had lasted three years, and neither party had won any substantial advantage. The conditions favored a new treaty of peace. The only obstacle in the way was the alliance with Henry VIII, but Charles made no scruple of leaving his late ally in the lurch. The chief articles in the treaty now concluded between Charles and Francis were that the Duke of Orleans should marry the daughter or the niece of the

Emperor, in the first case acquiring the Netherlands as an independent sovereignty, and in the second receiving Milan on the same terms. Charles agreed to relinquish his claims upon Burgundy, and Francis did the same in regard to Naples. Thus ended the last war between Charles V and Francis I. Charles seemed, upon the whole, to have gained the advantage. He had secured to himself the whole of Italy. But his ambition in the beginning had been to dismember France and destroy her power, and in this aim he had failed.

This peace with Francis, and a truce subsequently concluded with Solyman, left Charles free to grapple with his last and most difficult labor, the suppression of the Reformation. The religious question always lay very near to the heart of the Emperor. But during the first five and twenty years of his reign it had been only at short and broken intervals, left him by his foreign military enterprises, that he had been able to take it in hand. Scarcely had he been able to enter on some deliberate method of dealing with it, when one or another of his enemies or suspicious friends crossed his path and called his attention elsewhere. And now, when he had the leisure to concentrate the entire strength of the Empire to the disposal of this question, he discovered that the Reformation had become too strong to be arrested even by his imperial will.

Great as had been the progress of the Reformation, from the Diet of Worms, before which Luther had been cited, in 1521, to that of Augsburg, at which was presented the celebrated "confession," in 1530, it had been far greater from the Diet of Augsburg to the period at which we have now arrived. At Augsburg the Elector of Saxony and Philip of Hesse were the only consider-

able Princes who supported the Reformation. By this time Würtemberg, Brandenburg, the Dukedom of Saxony, and the Palatinate of the Rhine had declared for it. Northern Germany was almost entirely Protestant, while in Southern Germany the imperial cities, and even, to some extent, the nobility of the Austrian hereditary States, were in favor of it, and Bohemia was strongly inclined in the same direction.

Thus had the new movement profited by the distraction of the Emperor, who wished to arrest it. Now, clearly, was the time for Charles to make, if ever, a strenuous and comprehensive effort. Still, it was in his nature not to have recourse to extreme measures until all means of compromise had been exhausted. Accordingly, in 1546, at Ratisbon, a great religious conference had been held by some of the most moderate theologians on both sides. They had differed, however, upon some fundamental tenets, and no common platform had been secured. Toward the end of 1545 another of the methods all along proposed for the settlement of the religious difficulty, general conference, was about to be tried. Both the Protestants and Catholics had favored this plan, but the former had insisted that the Pope should take no part in or in any way interfere in such general council, and that it should be held within the borders of the Empire. Accordingly, when the Pope called a General Council to be held at Trent, composed almost entirely of Italians and Spaniards, and in which the Catholic interest would be absolutely predominant, the German Protestants refused to send representatives. The calling of this council, therefore, widened, instead of closing, the breach between the two religious parties.

Such was the situation when Charles summoned a diet to meet at Ratisbon, to concert measures for secur-

ing religious concord. As the Protestants had become thoroughly convinced of the Emperor's hostility toward them, they alleged various reasons for not appearing at the diet. In this assembly the Emperor declared that "the Protestants continued to display so much arrogance that he had come to the decided conviction that measures of kindness would be of little avail, and that, much against his inclination, he would be compelled to have recourse to more vigorous measures." It had long been suspected that this was the intention of the Emperor, but he now for the first time avowed it. The Protestants, as a last means of preserving peace, sent him a memorial, recapitulating their objections to the Council of Trent, and again demanding a free general council, to be held in Germany. This petition Charles treated with contempt.

War was now inevitable. Both sides prepared for it. The Protestants, anxious to secure a foreign alliance which might hamper the Emperor, applied to both Francis I and Henry II. Francis was now suffering from the malady which within a few months terminated his life, and was neither able nor inclined to embark in a new contest. Nor was Henry more disposed to take an active part in the impending war. The Protestants were therefore compelled to rely upon their own resources, which, however, were considerable. They assembled an army of 80,000 men, well armed and equipped, which was placed under the command of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. Charles had at his disposal less than 10,000 troops. But thanks to the incapacity of the Protestant generals, who might easily have overwhelmed him in the beginning, he received reinforcements from Italy and other sources, and ere long was at the head of an army of

30,000 men. Charles did his utmost to avoid a battle, hoping to exhaust the resources of his adversaries until the causes of division should lead to their disruption. This event happened, and in a way little expected by the Protestants—through the defection of Prince Maurice of Saxony.

Prince Maurice was a man of marked ability and of unbounded ambition. Though sincerely attached to the Protestant faith, the object nearest to his heart was his own advancement. He had refused to join in the Smalkald League, or to take part with the confederates in their present movement. Still, the Protestants seem to have fancied that his neutrality could be relied upon, and the Elector went so far as to confide the care of his estates to Maurice during his own absence. Maurice betrayed the confidence placed in him. To the amazement and indignation of the Protestants, he took up the cause of the Emperor. In conjunction with Ferdinand, he attacked the electoral territories and conquered the larger part of them. These estates were, in fact, the price the Emperor had offered him for his treachery. This occurrence broke up the league. The Elector marched to the relief of his own territories; others, on various pretexts, withdrew to their own States, and the great army was dissolved.

This was what Charles had wished and expected. The greater number of the Protestant princes now hastened to make terms separately with the Emperor as best they could, renouncing all connection with the league, and soliciting no conditions in favor of religious liberty. The Elector of Saxony, however, and the Landgrave of Hesse still remained in the field, though with an inconsiderable force.

But the very completeness of Charles' success—

the prospect that he would soon become the master of a united Germany, and, therefore, all-powerful—worked against him by arousing the fears of foreign potentates. The Pope withdrew from him the troops sent from Italy, on the shallow pretext that Charles no longer needed them, while his old enemy, Francis, though now at the point of death, invited Solyman to invade Hungary, and urged the Venetians to remain no longer neutral. Meanwhile, Charles' position in Germany became less favorable. The Elector of Saxony succeeded not only in recovering his own estates, but in conquering those of Maurice. But he committed the blunder of dividing his forces, and Charles, having entered Saxony, though with a smaller army, found him at Mühlberg, on the Elbe, and easily defeated him in a battle fought April 24, 1547. The Elector's army was routed with terrible slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner. When brought into the presence of Charles, he expressed the hope of receiving princely treatment. Charles replied that he would "treat him according to his merits." The Elector was brought to trial and condemned to death, but this sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, upon the condition that he would surrender Wittenberg, which was still held by his wife, and would relinquish his hereditary territories, in exchange for the Duchy of Gotha. His estates and his electoral hat were bestowed upon his enemy, Prince Maurice. Such was the treatment which Charles deemed merited by a Prince to whom he was mainly indebted for the imperial crown.

The Landgrave of Hesse was still in the field. Urged by Prince Maurice, who was his son-in-law, and by other friends, he was induced to submit to the Emperor. The terms imposed upon him were severe.

They included the surrender of his person and territories, with the payment of a large sum of money, the demolition of his fortresses, and, what was more galling to a man of spirit, the begging of pardon on his knees and in public. Prince Maurice had been given by the Emperor to understand that when these terms of submission had been complied with the Landgrave should be set at liberty. But instead he was told that he must remain in confinement during the Emperor's pleasure. The most urgent solicitations of Maurice and other friends of the Landgrave failed to move Charles from this determination, which afterward he had abundant cause to regret.

At a diet which met at Augsburg, and which was completely under the thumb of the Emperor, a measure was adopted which, it was hoped, would restore religious concord to Germany. Two Catholic divines and one Protestant were appointed to draw up a confession of faith, which, since it was designed to be of only temporary application, until the decision of the Council of Trent should be rendered, was known as the Interim. Something was conceded on both sides. But, like every other compromise measure, the Interim pleased nobody, and was especially distasteful to the Protestants. To enforce it, however, the Emperor was determined, though every day made more apparent the difficulty of the task. Many Princes who had heartily coöperated with him in the recent war declared their determination not to receive the Interim. The great imperial cities strenuously opposed it. Augsburg, Ulm, Strasburg, Magdeburg, and many other towns implored the Emperor not to impose upon them a measure offensive to their consciences and hostile to all rights they had hitherto enjoyed. But Charles was

inflexible, and compelled, by force, in all of these cities, and, indeed, throughout all Germany, at least a show of acceptance of the hateful confession.

We come now to one of the most interesting episodes in the life of Charles, the sequel to the story of Prince Maurice of Saxony. The treachery of Maurice had rendered him an object of detestation among the Protestants, by whom he was justly charged with their overthrow in their contest with the Emperor. This he might have borne with equanimity, for he had succeeded in making himself the most powerful of the German Princes, had not the Emperor, for whom he had sacrificed his good name, put upon him a fresh indignity by making him a tool for the capture and imprisonment of his own father-in-law. The Emperor had played him false, and he conceived a project by which he might punish Charles for his treachery, and at the same time win back his own good name and establish a power, which was rightfully his, as the greatest of German Princes. Maurice was a profound dissembler, as well as a cool and sagacious statesman, and he worked his scheme cautiously until the time came for action. Not the slightest suspicion of his intended defection was entertained by the Emperor, and when Magdeburg stubbornly refused to accept the Interim, Charles selected Maurice to command the force sent to besiege the city. This was the opportunity for which he had waited. During the progress of the siege, which was purposely prolonged, he perfected his plans, and when at last he negotiated the terms of capitulation, he took into his confidence Count Mansfeldt, who had held the chief command in the city, and Count Heidic, an officer who had been proscribed by Charles. With these two persons, Maurice arranged the manner in which he was to

set about his projected enterprise. One important measure was a secret alliance formed with Henry II, who had succeeded Francis I as King of France. When all was ready he issued, in March, 1552, a proclamation, in which he declared his reasons for taking up arms against Charles, among them being the detention of the Landgrave in prison. At about the same time Henry II issued a declaration, calling upon the Germans to assert their liberties, and promising to assist them to the utmost of his power. The Protestant Princes rallied to the standard of Maurice, and he was quickly at the head of a new and powerful league against the Emperor.

All this time Charles was at Innspruch, whither he had gone to keep an eye upon the council which was then sitting at Trent. As soon as the unanticipated storm broke, he wrote to his brother, Ferdinand, to look after the rebellion, and, since he was practically without an army, a compromise seemed the only available way of quelling it. Ferdinand held an interview with Maurice, which came to nothing except an arrangement to hold a second interview, at Passau, on the 26th of May. Sixteen days would elapse before that date, and Maurice was not the man to remain idle during this time. He conceived and nearly executed a move, which for brilliancy has hardly a parallel in history. Marching with his army southward, with the greatest possible rapidity, he made his way, with but little opposition, through the passes of the Alps, and, entering the Tyrol, hastened toward Innspruck. But for an unfortunate delay, occasioned by a mutiny among his mercenaries, he would have surprised and easily have captured the Emperor. As it was, Charles received word of his approach late in the evening, just

in time to make good his escape. He was suffering with the gout so that he required to be borne upon a litter. In addition to the darkness, a violent rain was falling, but it was better to endure every evil than to become a prisoner of Maurice. The Emperor and his courtiers pursued their melancholy way until they reached Villach, a place so nearly inaccessible as to furnish the fugitives a secure retreat.

When Maurice and Ferdinand met, on the 26th of May, both were anxious for the restoration of peace, and, with very little difficulty, the preliminary terms were agreed upon. These were that the Landgrave should be set at liberty; that no attempt should be made to enforce the Interim, and that both Catholics and Protestants should enjoy without molestation the rights and liberties which they then possessed. To these terms, slightly modified, Charles finally gave a reluctant consent, and the treaty of Paussau was then duly ratified.

The great service thus rendered to the Protestants by Maurice removed the opprobrium occasioned by his conduct in 1546. Even his retention of the territories of the Elector ceased to be a cause of obloquy, for, though the Elector was an object of sympathy, it was recognized that Maurice was an abler defender of the religious liberty of Germany. The last acts of the life of Maurice were fitted to maintain his political and military reputation. He was engaged with Ferdinand in a campaign against the Turks. He was subsequently commissioned by the Emperor to chastise an offending subject, Albert of Brandenburg. They met at Sieverhausen, in the Duchy of Luxemburg, with armies nearly equal. The victory was won by Maurice, but not until he had received a mortal wound. Maurice was but thirty-one years of age at the time of his death. In

spite of the humiliation to which he had subjected Charles, he seems never to have quite lost the Emperor's esteem and admiration. When the news of his death reached Brussels the courtiers exhibited marks of joy, but the only remark made by the Emperor was, "Absalom, my son."

Henry II, in pursuance of his arrangement with Prince Maurice, had entered Loraine, and it had soon become evident that his object was less to make a diversion in favor of the German Protestants than to add new territory to his own dominions. Among the towns which he had captured and garrisoned was Metz. As soon as the treaty of Paussau had been concluded, Charles made every preparation to wrest from Henry his recent conquests. Protestants as well as Catholics were incensed at the French monarch's conquest of German States, and Charles had no difficulty in raising an army of 60,000 men, among whom were many who had lately served under Maurice. With this splendid army he crossed the Rhine and laid siege to Metz. Charles had expected to recapture the town easily. But its defense had been intrusted to the Duke of Guise; its fortifications had been made impregnable to assault; weeks passed, and no successes had been gained by the besiegers. Convoys of provisions were intercepted by the activity of the French, and scarcity began to prevail in the imperial camp. Besides, it was late in the year, and the camp was reduced to a miserable condition by the severity of the weather. Men, ill-fed and exposed to unaccustomed hardship, became a prey to disease, which spread rapidly, and with fatal results. Charles was forced to raise the siege of Metz and to retreat. The pitiable condition to which the army had been reduced was shown by the state in which the camp was left.

It was filled, according to the statements of eye-witnesses, with dead, wounded and sick soldiers, and the sight presented to Guise and his officers when they visited the imperial quarters was fitted to move the pity of even the stoniest hearted. Guise ordered the dead to be buried, and the living to be tended with the utmost care. But the severity of the season had produced so terrible effects upon many that, though their lives were saved, it was at the cost of their legs or arms. Along the line of retreat were sights equally pitiable—men who had lain down to die by the side of a tree or hedge, and whose situation, says Rabutin, would have excited the pity of wild beasts—even the fiercest. Charles had undertaken the siege contrary to the advice of the Duke of Alva and his other generals, but he very ungenerously charged his disastrous failure, not to his own misjudgment, but to fortune. "Now I perceive," he said, "that Fortune resembles other females, and chooses to confer favors upon young men, while she turns her back on those who are advanced in years."

In the following year (1553) the Emperor met with some successes, which in a measure compensated for his disaster before Metz. But these military achievements were of minor importance in comparison with an event which occurred in this year in England, and which opened before Charles the most brilliant prospect of dynastic aggrandizement. In 1553, the death of Edward VI placed the crown of England upon the head of Charles' niece, the Princess Mary. Charles, always looking forward to the future, more thoughtful of his posterity even than of himself, could not fail to see the many advantages which would follow from a marriage of his son and heir, Philip, with the Queen of England. Its immediate advantage would be a separation of Eng-

land from her alliance with France; in the future it would render England a portion of the heritage of the House of Austria. The subject was at once broached by Charles to Mary, both through his ambassador to England, and in a personal letter to the Queen herself. The only serious objection to the match seemed to be the respective ages of the parties. Mary was in her thirty-eighth year, while Philip was younger by ten years. Still, he was a widower, and had a son eight years old, so that he could no longer be regarded as a youth.

Philip was wholly indifferent to this marriage, and Mary was eager for it. Under such circumstances, all that remained to do was to draw up the marriage contract. The preliminaries having been settled, Philip went to England to claim his bride, and the marriage took place in July, 1554.

We have now reached the end of the reign of Charles V. No event in modern history excited more attention, or has given rise to a greater variety of conjectures, than the abdication of this Emperor. Among the reasons which have been supposed to have induced him to take this step, the most probable are his increasing infirmities, a natural desire for rest, and the certainty that unless he could find release from the cares and labors imposed upon him by his responsible position, he would presently become a complete wreck, physically and perhaps mentally. It rests upon good authority that Charles had long had an uneasy feeling that his mind was giving away, and that he was destined to the lamentable fate of his mother. Under such circumstances, with Philip, in whose capacity for affairs he had the utmost confidence, in the prime of life, his course is not difficult to comprehend.

The ceremony of the abdication of Charles V took place in the City of Brussels on the 25th of October, 1555. It was at once an extraordinary and an imposing spectacle. The greatest monarch in Europe had invited his subjects to witness his renunciation of that sovereign authority which he had so long exercised, and everything was done to impart solemnity to an act so important and so significant. The great Hall of the States was prepared for the performance of the ceremony. An immense platform, on which was placed the chair of state, was reserved for the Emperor, his court, and the chief nobility. In the hall below the platform a number of benches had been placed, which were occupied by the Deputies of the States, according to their rank. As soon as all had taken their seats, the Emperor entered the hall, leaning upon the Prince of Orange, and followed by Philip, the Queen of Hungary, a great number of nobles, and many Knights of the Golden Fleece.

After the President of the Council of Flanders had read the formal deed by which Charles surrendered, in favor of his son Philip, his authority over the Netherlands, the Emperor himself arose and addressed the assembly. He took the occasion to pass in review all the acts and measures of his reign, and to show in what manner he had discharged the trust confided to him. He called his people to witness that he had never consulted his own ease, nor spared his own labor, when the welfare of his subjects had required him to endure fatigue and to abjure pleasure. He concluded his speech by urging the people to love and serve Philip as they had loved and served him, to preserve their laws, be submissive to justice, and especially to maintain inviolate the Catholic faith. Then, turning to his son, he

urged him, with many tears, and most tender words, to love his subjects, to govern them well, and especially to adhere steadfastly to the faith of the true Church.

During this last address the Emperor's emotion became contagious, and all present burst into tears, one authority expressly informing us that even the Knights of the Golden Fleece forgot their dignity, and joined in the general lamentation. After this affecting scene, Philip said a few words, but, pleading his inability to speak in the French or Flemish language with fluency, called on the Bishop of Arras to make known his sentiments and intentions. A few months afterward, in January, 1556, Charles resigned the crown of Spain, but a considerable time elapsed before he completed his abdication by relinquishing the imperial throne.

We naturally feel some curiosity as to the private history and habits of a man who has stood so prominently before the world as Charles V. However legitimate this curiosity may be, there is comparatively little to gratify it. Few men have ever been more devoted than he to public business, and few Princes have cared less about the ordinary pleasures of a life of royalty. His time was too fully occupied to leave him leisure for the amusements by which idle men relieve the tedium of existence. Nor were his passions so strong as to deliver him over, like Francis I, to the sway of unlawful indulgences. Hunting was the chief amusement in which Charles indulged. When within doors, the pranks and witticisms of a dwarf, named Peiro, formed the chief source of his relaxation. He was fond of painting and music, but he seems to have little taste for literature. Charles was naturally tactiturn, and was cold in his demeanor toward ordinary persons, though in the com-

pany of his familiar friends he became easy and sociable. Still, he was always courteous in the audiences which he granted ambassadors, and, like all taciturn men, was a good listener.

The personal appearance of Charles is well known from the many prints reproduced from his portraits by Titian and other painters. Here is a pen portrait of him, as he appeared in 1525 to a Venetian ambassador: "The Emperor was of middling stature, neither tall nor short; of fair complexion, pale, rather than ruddy. His body was well formed, his legs were handsome, and his arms good. His nose was a little aquiline, his eyes keen; his aspect was grave, but without any indications of cruelty or severity. The only faults with his person were his chin and lower jaw, which were larger and longer than suited the general appearance."

Charles had one unconquerable failing—a weakness for a good dinner. He was a gourmand of the first order. It has been said of him that, "if two plates had been set before him, with the Province of Burgundy upon one, and an eel pot-pie upon the other, and he had been told to choose between them, he would have instantly seized the pot-pie, though he might have regretted his hasty choice as soon as his appetite had been for the moment sated." In vain his physicians and friends warned him against his overindulgence in both eating and drinking; in vain his gout and the general breakdown of his health sounded the same warning notes. He continued to the last to stuff himself with the most highly seasoned and indigestible of foods, and was ever on the alert for some new dish or dainty. "Ever since he had left Flanders as his permanent residence," says the ambassador already cited, "he had become accustomed, as soon as he awoke in the morn-

ing, to partake of a dish of potted capon, prepared with milk, sugar, and spices, and after doing so he went to sleep again. He dined at midday on a great variety of dishes, which were generally the richest and most unwholesome which could be selected. An eel pasty was his special favorite. To fish the Emperor was particularly partial; but this taste was by no means exclusive, and game, pork, and mutton figured prominently at his table. A peculiar species of partridge, sausages such as his mother was accustomed to make for her own use, were among the Emperor's dearly-prized dainties." As was to be expected, the appetite so perseveringly pampered palled at last, and required novelties to excite its relish. On one occasion, when he complained to his major domo that the dishes set before him were insipid and tasteless, that perplexed official replied that he did not know how he could please his majesty, unless he made him a pot-pie of watches. Charles was just then particularly interested in watches, and he is said to have relished the wit of his servant, if he had not enjoyed his dinner.

After his abdication, Charles retired to the monastery of St. Yuste, situated in the Spanish Province of Estremadura. That Charles had for some time meditated taking the step he had just taken and ending his days in this holy retreat, is evidenced by the fact that a residence attached to the monastery had already been built especially for his occupation. Although not yet quite complete, this building was now hastily prepared for his reception, and here he took up his abode, with only a single attendant, Don Louis Quixada, already referred to as his major domo.

A great deal of misinformation respecting Charles' monastic life has become popularly current through the

statements of Robertson and other historians, who had not access to documents which have become available to later writers. The notion was long prevalent that Charles, in the monastery of Yuste, lost all interest in the outer world, and devoted his time entirely to religious contemplation or petty amusements. The documents referred to have established beyond a doubt that such was not the case; that his withdrawal from active life in no degree diminished the interest which he felt in state affairs. He was kept regularly informed of the events which were taking place in the grand theater of European politics, and of the governmental measures which were proposed or adopted by his son, and while he refrained, from a motive of delicacy, from offering Philip his advice, he gave it freely when it was sought, which was very frequently. Nor did he mortify the flesh by anything of the nature of aceticism. His dinners were as elaborate at Yuste as ever they had been in Brussels or Barcelona.

The building erected for his use, though small, was commodious. It consisted of two stories, each containing four rooms of uniform size. Those facing the south were set apart for the Emperor. They were situated on the upper story, which communicated with the church, and from which a window gave a view of the high altar. The four rooms occupied by the Emperor were furnished, if not with regal magnificence, still elegantly. The softest carpets, canopies of velvet, hangings of fine cloth, richly embroidered tapestries, and chairs elaborately carved and expressly constructed for the ease of tender joints, proved that the Emperor's seclusion was not intended to be that of an anchorite. And the walls of these rooms were adorned with eight of the most exquisite paintings of Titian, for whom Charles had the highest admiration. But in one thing

this elegant monastic retreat was singularly lacking—the library of the Emperor contained no more than thirty-one volumes.

Charles adopted the daily routine of the place in which he had taken up his abode. He rose early, breakfasted immediately after getting up, and then spent some time with his confessor. He then engaged in some kind of occupation, usually of a mechanical character. In this he was assisted by Torriano, an Italian, who had obtained a considerable reputation as an engineer and a clock and watch maker. Charles had a great taste for, and acquired considerable practical skill in, those arts in which Torriano excelled. The two are said to have amused themselves in constructing puppets representing soldiers performing their evolutions, and girls dancing, and even wooden birds which could fly. The Emperor's afternoon hours were spent in conversation, attending divine service, and hearing the scriptures or some other religious book read.

The time spent by Charles in this retreat was less than two years. He was seized with his fatal illness, an attack of fever, on the 30th of August, 1558. On the 9th of September he was sufficiently in the possession of his faculties to make a codicil to his will, but from that time he began to fail visibly. On the 19th of September the right of supreme unction was administered to the dying Emperor, and, in accordance with his own direction, in the elaborate form employed in the case of a spiritual person. His death occurred on the morning of the 21st of September, 1558.

The body of Charles was deposited temporarily in the monastery. It now rests in the Escurial, where Philip II erected, in 1574, a splendid mausoleum to receive the remains of all the members of the royal family.

THE PRINCE OF ORANGE

1533-1584

BEGINNING OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

A part of the patrimony of Philip II of Spain, on which he entered upon the abdication of his father, Charles V, in 1555, was the sovereignty of the Netherlands. The country embraced under this designation was divided into seventeen provinces, of which Holland and Flanders, a part of the modern Belgium, were the most important. At that time it contained, probably, about 3,000,000 inhabitants.

This small corner of Europe, where originally had been wild morasses, vast belts of woodland, and tracts of sand, and much of which was below the level of the sea at high tide, had become in the course of Centuries of cultivation and improvement, under the hands of an industrious people, a veritable garden spot. But agriculture was no longer the chief industry of the Netherlanders. Commerce and the industrial arts had both enriched them and extended their name to all parts of the civilized world. Flemish skill in the fine arts and in mechanics was unrivaled. The Netherland tapestries and linens were prized over all Europe, and the Flemish shawls and silks rivaled those of India. Trade and the industrial arts combined had built up numerous large cities. Ghent had been able to accommodate on one occasion 60,000 strangers with their 15,000 horses; Antwerp was the great commercial capital of the world, outranking Venice and second in population only to

Paris, and Brussels, at the time of the abdication, numbered 100,000 inhabitants.

Each of these cities had its charter, given it by the lord in whose dominion it had sprung up, which protected it in the exercise of certain rights and privileges. As the cities had grown populous and prosperous they had sought and obtained a voice in the general government. Their representatives, together with the nobles, constituted the Parliamentary Congress of the Nation, known as the States-General. To diminish the power of this body and to curtail the privileges of the chartered towns had been one of the constant aims of Charles V, and in a number of instances he had been only too successful. Ghent, for example, had been punished for its meditated revolt by the annulment of all its charters and privileges, the confiscation of all its public property, while its officers were all henceforward appointed by the Sovereign.

The Protestant religion had early obtained a firm footing in the Netherlands; by far the greater number of the people were followers of Luther and Calvin, and yet nowhere else was heresy so persecuted. In 1521 Charles V issued at Worms a decree against Luther, branding him as a "devil," and declaring that all his disciples should be punished with death and forfeiture of all their goods. This decree was at once carried into effect in the Netherlands. A terrible persecution followed, the Papal inquisition being introduced into the country to assist it. Thousands of men and women were burned at the stake for no other offense than reading the Scriptures, or discussing concerning faith, the sacrament or the Papal authority. In 1553 Mary of Hungary, who was the Emperor's sister and Regent of the Provinces, wrote to her brother that in her opinion

all heretics, whether repentant or not, should be persecuted with severity that error should be at once extinguished, care only being taken that the provinces were not entirely depopulated. Two years later an imperial edict, issued at Brussels, condemned *all* heretics to death, repentant men to be executed, repentant women to be buried alive; non-repentant heretics to be burned. Such was the law which, at the time of Philip's accession to the sovereignty, had been in operation in the Netherlands for twenty years. It is believed that not fewer than 50,000 victims had been executed under it. And now a fresh tyrant, more bigoted, more devilish than his father, took up and continued this hopeless conflict with heresy. The result was a revolt, which after more than eighty years of warfare, the most inhuman in history, ended finally in the independence of the United Netherlands. The great leader of this revolt was the Prince of Orange.

William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, was of a very high and ancient lineage. The Nassau family first appears in history in the middle of the Eleventh Century. It early divided into two great branches. The elder branch ascended the imperial throne in Germany in the person of Adolph of Nassau, while the younger and more illustrious branch retained the modest little sovereignty of Nassau-Dillenburg, but transplanted itself to the Netherlands, where it obtained large power and possessions.

Henry of Nassau, who inherited the family possessions and title in Luxembourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Holland, had been the confidential friend of the Emperor Charles V, and it was, indeed, mainly through the success of his negotiations that Charles received the imperial crown. This Henry of Nassau espoused the

sister of Philibert of Orange, and his son René succeeded Philibert in the little principality of Orange, and thus it passed to the Nassau family. René of Orange was slain in battle, and having no legitimate children, he left his title and estates to his cousin, William of Nassau, who thus at the age of eleven became William IX of Orange. William had four younger brothers, Louis, Adolphus, Henry, and John of Nassau.

Having completed his education at Brussels, William became a page in the household of Charles V, and the Emperor, recognizing his ability, frequently made him a confidant, and selected him for the highest duties. Before he reached the age of twenty-one, in the absence of the Duke of Savoy, he was appointed General-in-Chief of the army on the French frontier. In the ceremony of the abdication of Charles he took a prominent part. The Emperor entered the hall on that occasion leaning upon the shoulder of the Prince.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis between Philip II and Henry II of France (1559), the Prince of Orange was sent as one of four hostages to the French court. It was while he was residing here that he earned the nick-name of William the Silent. One day while hunting with Henry in the forest of Vincennes, the Prince and the King found themselves separated from the rest of the party. Henry's mind was full of a great scheme he had just concerted with Philip for extirpating heresy by a general massacre of the Protestants both of France and the Netherlands. Not doubting that the Prince of Orange was in the scheme, he introduced it as a subject of conversation and gave details of the plan. The Prince was horror-struck; yet he controlled his countenance and had the prudence to keep silent. But he formed a resolute purpose to defeat

the massacre, and from that hour used all his effort in that direction.

All the signs indicated that an Inquisition had been resolved upon for the Netherlands, more terrible even than that of Spain, and it was therefore much against his will that Orange accepted Philip's appointment of him as General of the mercenaries left in the Netherlands. Although at the time he was a Catholic, having no sympathy with the reformed faith, he was noble-hearted and detested assassination. One of his first acts as General was to give timely warning to a number of persons whom Philip had expressly ordered him to have put to death.

William was now in his twenty-seventh year, and a widower, his first wife, Anne of Egmont, by whom he had a son and a daughter, being dead. At this time he was disposed for an easy, princely, and joyous life, filled up with banquets, the chase, tournaments, and military duties. He kept an immense establishment and exercised a magnificent hospitality, and so luxurious was his table that Philip himself wrote to beg for the present of his chief cook. This style of living and the outlays occasioned by holding a high office, ran him into debt, though not desperately so, and he took prudent measures to relieve himself from this embarrassment, by reducing his expenses. His demeanor was engaging toward all, and he was "beloved and honored by the whole community." Though called "the Silent," he was in private life the most genial and delightful of companions. As cares pressed more and more heavily upon him in his later life, he lost much of his cheerfulness, but he never became either stern or arrogant.

Philip, having become soon after his accession to power engaged in a war with France, remained in the

Netherlands four years—until 1559. On taking his departure he left as Regent the Duchess Margaret of Parma, the natural daughter of Charles V. To aid her in her administration of affairs, he appointed three councils, of which the most important was the State Council. It was composed of eight members, among whom were Count Egmont, the Prince of Orange, and Count Horn. Another member of this Council was the Bishop of Arras, subsequently the Cardinal Granvelle, and it soon became apparent that to him belonged the chief power.

We shall hear more of Egmont and Horn. The former, now about thirty-six years old, was "noble, wealthy, handsome, and valiant." He possessed a castle, town, and lordship on the coast of the German ocean in North Holland. He had seen service with Charles V, had been at head of the splendid Embassy which went to England to ask for Philip the hand of Mary Tudor, and he had won for Philip the battle of St. Quentin. Horn also was a distinguished member of the Netherland nobility.

One of the first acts of Philip as Sovereign of the Netherlands had been to reënact the edict of 1550, already referred to, to order its publication every six months in every town and village of the Netherlands, and, moreover, to order that its provisions should be vigorously enforced. Furthermore, a Bull now issued by the Pope empowered the creation of some new bishoprics in the Netherlands, the nominations to which important office were subject to confirmation by the King.

The excitement occasioned throughout the provinces by these measures was intense. Particularly obnoxious were the new bishoprics. Foremost in resisting their creation was the Prince of Orange, who looked

upon them as part of "one grand scheme for establishing the cruel Inquisition of Spain." In vain were remonstrances made to the Regent and to Philip. The King was inexorable, and the Bishop of Arras, now Cardinal Granvelle, gave him every support needed. On one point only was any concession obtained from Philip. The mercenaries were withdrawn from the provinces—in compliance with a promise which the King had been slow to keep—but not until Orange had refused to continue to command them. But the edicts and bishops remained. An Inquisition was thus established in the Netherlands, not subject to the civil authorities, and prepared to do the King's arbitary bidding. Among the Inquisitors, Peter Titelmann was preëminent for his savage cruelty. But we will pass hastily over his horrible torturings and executions with the bald statement that they were many and blood curdling.

Meanwhile the fight in the Council went on, the Cardinal becoming more and more outrageous in his behavior toward his colleagues, while letters passed to and fro between both parties and the King. Finally Orange, Egmont, and Horn, in a letter to the King, united in saying that they could not act with the Cardinal, and imploring his removal. The Cardinal wrote, too, warning the King that the letter was coming, and advising him how to act. The King consulted the Duke of Alva as to the course to be pursued. "Take off their heads," said Alva, "but first dissemble with them." And that is what Philip resolved to do. The end of this trouble was that Orange, Egmont, and Horn no longer attended the Council, and that Philip began to think it best that the Cardinal should leave the Netherlands, and finally removed him. This brings us to the year 1562.

While these troubles were still in progress in the

Council occurred the marriage of William (in 1561) to Princess Anne of Saxony, daughter of the famous elector, Maurice. The bride was a Lutheran, and doubtless she was, partly at least, instrumental in bringing the Prince to accept that faith.

There was joy in the Netherlands after the Cardinal's departure. The hypocritical Philip wrote friendly letters to Orange, Horn, and Egmont. Still the country was in a deplorable state; the laws were trampled under foot; the highest dignitaries received bribes, and no poor man could gain his cause however just. Pardons for the blackest crimes were sold to the highest bidder, while the Inquisition continued its devilish work. Three things William of Orange desired to obtain—the abolition of the edicts, liberty to convoke the States-General, and the suppression of the Council of Finance and the Privy Council. To obtain these objects he worked with might and main, but to no purpose.

Strong representations were at this time sent to Philip by the officials of Bruges—all Roman Catholics—with regard to the lawless and fiendish acts of Titelmann, and the Four Estates of Flanders also represented these acts to Philip in a solemn address. But the King, more than ever determined to expel heresy, refused to interpose, and moreover gave a new order that the decrees of the Council of Trent should be published and enforced throughout the Netherlands—decrees which, as far as possible, shut out heretics from the pale of humanity and from heaven.

The Duchess in great embarrassment resolved to send Egmont to Spain as Envoy, and the Prince of Orange declared in Council that Egmont must now tell the King the whole truth—viz., that the free Netherlands were determined to vindicate their ancient rights;

that the decrees of Trent and the whole machinery of the Inquisition must be abolished, and that his Majesty must be informed of the frightful corruption which existed everywhere.

Egmont went to Spain; but, alas, for the Netherlands, the King treated him so nicely, seating him at his table, driving him in his carriage, that poor Egmont lost his head and forgot the important part of his mission, and nothing came of it. The King's answer brought by Egmont to the Duchess, was that he was overcome with grief at hearing of the increase of heresy, and that he would die a thousand deaths rather than permit any change of religion.

Soon after fresh letters arrived from Philip confirming his steadfast determination not to relax one tithe from the rigor of the persecutions. Orange was more than ever indignant, and his feelings were shared by the nobles generally. Men began to whisper that it was better to die at once than to live in perpetual dread. Titelmann complained that it was difficult to get officers to act against heretics. The King sent orders that the heretics should therefore be executed at midnight in their dungeons. The poor Duchess was in despair, and herself wrote to Philip that all men were so indignant, it was absolutely necessary that his instructions concerning the persecutions should be altered. But fresh letters came from Philip confirming all his former decrees, and one to Titelmann praising him greatly. Egmont also received a letter from the King saying that weakness in matters of religion was out of place. Such pigheadedness in a monarch is scarcely credible, yet it stands recorded in history.

The terrible tension which Philip's course had produced in the country began now to display itself unmis-

takably on all sides. A league was formed (in 1566), whose members were both Catholics and Protestants, and who pledged themselves to resist the Inquisition, and to defend each other against the consequences. At the same time they avowed an honest purpose to maintain the King in his sovereignty and to attempt no diminution of his dominion. This league became known, in consequence of a sneering reference to it by one of the Regent's Council, as the "Beggars." William had not been consulted in its formation, yet he exercised great influence over it and succeeded in toning down the bitterness of some of its remonstrances.

Equally significant with this league was the action of the lower classes. Goaded to desperation by persecution, they rose in a mass and set their enemy at defiance. From one end of the country to the other the Reformers began to hold religious meetings in the light of day. In June a crowd of nearly 8,000 persons assembled near Ghent to hear the preaching; and as many as 6,000 near Tournay, while two days afterward 10,000 congregated for the same purpose at the same place. A month later their number had risen to 20,000. The Governor thundered a proclamation against them to no purpose. The Duchess, too, sent hundreds of proclamations in all directions and ordered the instant arrest of the preachers. But all classes had caught the infection, and the crowds of the Reformers outnumbered the Romanists five to one. The magistrates were powerless.

At Antwerp the condition of things had become so serious, that at the urgent request of the Duchess, the Prince of Orange proceeded thither to attempt by his presence to allay the excitement. He was received with every demonstration of joy by all parties, and during his

stay in the city he succeeded in preventing the threatened revolt. The Reformers, out of deference to him, abstained from holding their meetings within the city, but they still held them outside the walls.

From Antwerp the Prince was recalled by the Duchess, against his better judgment, to Brussels, and during his absence occurred the famous destruction of the churches. The occasion of the uprising, which began at Antwerp, was a religious festival known as the Ommegang, in which a colossal image of the Virgin was carried in procession through the streets. A rabble followed the image, insulting it with jeering words, and the ceremony ended hurriedly. The next morning an excited crowd, still jeering at the image, collected before the cathedral. It required but a spark to kindle a riot. The image was dragged forth from the cathedral and demolished. Then began a general work of destruction; statues, pictures, ornaments, were battered to pieces. All night long the sack of the churches went on; thirty were wrecked before morning broke. The contagion of destruction spread, and in a few days 400 churches were sacked in Flanders alone.

In this alarming state of affairs the Duchess, helpless from the lack of military support, was compelled to compromise with the people, through the medium of the "Beggars." They were granted liberty of worship in places where it had already been exercised. Thus quiet was restored.

When Philip heard of these outrageous acts of the heretics of the Netherlands his rage was beyond all bounds. Two Envoys from the Regent, Baron Montigny and Marquis Berghen, were at his court. They had been received with apparent cordiality, but unlike Egmont, they had used plain language, and now the

angry Philip cast them both into prison on charges of treason. They never emerged from their prison.

Quiet had temporarily been restored in the Netherlands, but letters received from Philip proved clearly that he had not profited by the warning of the late uprising.

The Prince of Orange began to think of arming his country for resistance. A conference took place between himself, Horn, Egmont, Hoogstraaten, and Count Louis of Nassau, to discuss the advisability of such a course, but the conference came to nothing. Both Horn and Egmont expressed their resolve to be stanch to Philip, and without them Orange could do nothing. He resigned, however, all his offices, and henceforward employed a spy on Philip's actions.

Valenciennes, a town in the province of Hainault, held out against the King and was invested by a force sent by the Regent. A long siege followed. During the progress of this siege occurred an outbreak at Antwerp, which the Prince of Orange, who had again gone thither, at the entreaty of the Duchess, quieted by the mere force of his presence, though at the imminent risk of his life. Soon after this Valenciennes surrendered and was given over for pillage and murder to the Regent's brutal soldiery. All of the important towns now accepted the garrisons that were imposed upon them, even Antwerp, as soon as Orange had left it.

Gloomy indeed was the outlook for the Netherlands. The Prince of Orange decided to leave the country, where he had ceased to be useful, and to withdraw to Germany. Before doing so he held a last interview with Egmont, at which he sought in vain to open the Count's eyes to the danger which encompassed him. Philip had resolved on sending to the Netherlands the Duke of

Alva, to replace the Duchess of Parma as Regent, and Alva would bring with him an army of 10,000 men; it was easy to see through the King's design.

The Prince of Orange left Antwerp on the 11th of April (1567) and went to his family seat at Dillenburg; nor did he leave a moment too soon. Philip had already given orders to arrest him as soon as possible, and not let his trial last more than twenty-four hours.

The Duke of Alva arrived at Brussels toward the close of the summer of 1567. This experienced and successful Spanish General, who won for himself by the severity of his administration of the Netherlands eternal infamy, was now in his sixtieth year. The historian Motley, from whose pages this short story of the Prince of Orange has been compiled, has painted his character in a few forcible words: "He did not combine a great variety of vices, but those he had were colossal, and he possessed no virtues. . . . His professed eulogists admitted his enormous avarice, while the world has agreed that such an amount of stealth and ferocity, of patient vindictiveness, and universal blood-thirstiness, were never found in a savage beast of the forest, and but rarely in a human breast."

One of the first acts of Alva was to arrest Horn and Egmont. The arrest was made in a manner peculiarly infamous, both of these nobles having been invited to a dinner given by the Duke's son, and at which the father was likewise a guest, and being seized directly after the entertainment. Both were, of course, foredoomed to death, and the trials which followed, on trumped-up charges of treason, before judges who were all tools of Alva, only made more conspicuous the villainy of the murders.

Alva's next move was to establish a special tribunal,

which soon acquired the historical name of the "Blood Council," for the trial of crimes committed during the recent troubles. It was on the 20th of September that the Blood Council held its first sitting, after which Alva worked seven hours daily at its deadly board. We will pass hurriedly by its horrible proceedings. They do not make pleasant reading. Suffice it to say that "the whole country became a charnel-house, the death bell tolled every hour in every village, and that there was not a family out of mourning, the spirit of the Nation seemed broken."

We come now to the outbreak—to the beginning of a war of which no man then living was to see the end. Early in the summer of 1568 the Prince of Orange published a declaration of the causes which had led him to make war upon Philip, and set at work to raise an army in Germany. In the following spring he entered the Netherlands with the plan of attacking his enemy at three points. His first campaign was a sad failure. The first two attempts were signally unsuccessful. A third, directed by Louis of Nassau, fared somewhat better. Louis won a signal victory over the lieutenant of Alva near Dam. But lacking the means to keep his troops paid, he was unable to follow up his success and went into a fortified camp near Groningen.

Alva now took the field in person. But before he set out from Brussels he took the precaution of executing both Horn and Egmont. With an army of 15,000 men he marched to Groningen, where he gained a decisive victory over the ill-paid, undisciplined army of Louis. In fact, the fight was virtually a massacre, only seven of the Spaniards being killed, it is said, while of Louis' men 5,000, or nearly half, were slaughtered.

And now recommenced the work of persecution

and blood-shed, more hotly than ever; but let us pass this over.

The Prince now issued a formal declaration of war against Alva, in which he declared his purpose to restore to the Netherlands the freedom they had enjoyed before the Burgundian rule. He promised them to drive the Spaniards forever from the country—a noble purpose, but to accomplish it he needed money. A lack of means was one of the great difficulties with which the Prince of Orange struggled from first to last. Already to raise his first army he had sold all his jewels, plate, and furniture of royal magnificence. Late in September he crossed the Meuse and entered Brabant. But he was unable to bring Alva to an engagement, and as no city opened its gates to receive the deliverers, that which Alva had hoped came to pass; the Prince's army began to melt away. He disbanded his men, having first given pledges for the payment of arrears due, and with 1,200 followers, and attended by his two brothers, Louis and Henry, set out to join the army of Condé in France.

Alva again had a free hand, and he used it to impose new and unheard-of taxes upon the people in the grossest defiance of their constitutional rights. Remonstrances and resistance followed, naturally, and thus were afforded abundant opportunities for confiscation of property. Finally the matter was settled by the consent of the provinces to pay 2,000,000 florins for a release from these taxes for two years.

Meanwhile Alva, aware that he had made a host of enemies, and fearing, too, that his credit with Philip was on the wane, wrote to his Sovereign begging to be recalled. "I should esteem it a great favor," he wrote, and he added, "At present and for the future your Majesty will be more strictly obeyed than any of your

predecessors, *and all this has been accomplished without violence.*" Philip began to consider whether it would not be well to recall him. Even the Cardinal Granvelle had urged upon the King the necessity of sending a general pardon to the Netherlanders. Therefore in the year 1570 an amnesty was announced, but one which contained so many exceptions that no individual could escape if it pleased the Government to take his life.

In this same year (1570) a terrible inundation added to the calamities of the unhappy Netherlanders. From Flanders to Friesland the whole coast was swept by the sea. The great dyke between Amsterdam and Meyden was broken in twelve places. In Friesland the land far and wide was changed into an angry sea. The destruction of human life, and of animals and property was incalculable.

Before setting out for France Orange had issued commissions to various sea-faring men, authorizing them to cruise against the Spanish trading ships. These men became the terrible "Beggars of the Sea." The chief of these Beggars was De la Marck, a friend of Egmont, who had sworn not to cut his hair nor shave his beard until the Count's murder had been avenged. De la Marck made a descent upon the coast of Holland with a fleet of twenty-four vessels, and captured without opposition the town of Brill, near the mouth of the Meuse, though his whole force amounted to only 250 men. By this easy conquest, made in the name of the Prince of Orange, was laid the foundation of the Dutch Republic. Alva sent a force to recapture Brill; but the defenders cut the dykes and flooded the country, rendering approach to the walls impossible. Thus the town remained in the hands of the friends of Orange.

Flushing, at the mouth of the Scheldt, now declared

for Orange, drove out the Spanish garrison, repulsed Alva's attempt to retake the town, and opened communication with Brill. Soon afterward the Prince appointed a trusty officer as Lieutenant-Governor over the Island of Walcheren, on which Flushing is situated. A small band of French infantry accompanied this officer, who was soon reënforced by numbers of volunteers from England. There was subsequently frightful warfare upon this island, but it was held for the Republic.

Nearly all the important towns of Holland and Zealand now raised the Prince's standard. Then followed city after city in Gelderland, Overyssel, and Utrecht; all the important towns of Friesland—some without a struggle, some after a short siege. None of these places were, however, permitted to keep their freedom without a struggle. Indeed all did not succeed in retaining it, though many did, and Harlem, Leyden, and Alkmaar, are names to be perpetually honored. The freed cities chose new magistrates, who took an oath of fidelity to Orange as the King's stadtholder, and engaged to resist Alva, the Inquisition and the illegal taxes to the last. While the Protestant was the prevailing religion in these towns, it was expressly stipulated by Orange that the Catholics should be allowed full liberty of worship.

The Prince was now engaged in raising money and troops in Germany, but he directed even the minutest affairs in the Netherlands. His brother Louis suddenly surprised and captured the important town of Mons, the Capital of Hainault, being aided by a conspiracy formed within the town. Alva at once ordered the investment of the town, and sent 4,000 troops to accomplish it. This was in the spring of 1572.

Alva had already been superseded, at his own repeated request, and on the 10th of June his successor, the Duke of Medina Cœli, with forty vessels and 2,000 Spanish troops, knowing nothing of the altered state of affairs, arrived off Blankenberg. His fleet was dispersed and he himself came near being captured, but finally succeeded in reaching Brussels. Less fortunate was a fleet from Portugal which soon after arrived. The vessels were ladened with money, spices, and other rich merchandise, and all save three or four were made prizes; the largest booty yet seized. One thousand Spanish soldiers were taken and 500,000 crowns in money, and it was believed that this money would maintain the war for two years.

Orange had assembled in Germany an army of 15,000 foot, to which was added 3,000 Netherlanders, and with this force he entered the Provinces. Having first taken, after a month siege, the city of Roermond, he advanced to raise the siege of Mons. He had but just crossed the River Meuse, in August, when there occurred a terrible event, which at the same time appalled all Europe and crushed his hopes—the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Hitherto he had looked to France for aid. Coligny had promised it in the name of the King. But now Coligny was slain, the boy King of France, Charles IX, was governed by his mother, Catherine de' Medici, and all her sympathy and aid would be for the Catholic cause of Spain. Still Orange attempted to relieve his brother in Mons. While before this place he came near being taken prisoner in a night assault made upon his camp by the Spaniards. After this disaster he drew off his forces and soon after, being in sore straits for money, he disbanded his army and

retired to Holland, the only province which still remained faithful to him.

Louis was now obliged to negotiate for the surrender of Mons. He was permitted to retire from the place with his soldiers and all of the townsmen who chose to accompany him. The protection of the lives and the property of the townspeople was stipulated, but no sooner had the possession of the city been gained, than it was turned over to massacre, pillage, and outrage. With the fall of Mons the revolution throughout the Southern Provinces was at an end.

The war in the Northern Provinces was still prosecuted with vigor, and frightful atrocity by the Spaniards, led by the son of the Duke of Alva. The Island of Walcheren was recovered by them, after the brilliant and hazardous feat of a march of ten miles across the "drowned land," over which at low tide the waters stood from four to six feet deep. A delay in the passage until the return of the tide would have involved the destruction of the entire army.

As a sample of the method of the warfare now raging in the Netherlands, take this instance of the fate of the little city of Naarden, on the coast of the Zuyder Zee. The town had capitulated with the assurance that the lives and property of the inhabitants would be safe. "After a sumptuous feast, prepared by the citizens, had been partaken of by the Spaniards, the population was assembled by the ringing of a bell in the Gast Huis Church, and immediately fired upon, while at the same time the building was set on fire. The horrors, the chopping with axes, which went on in the streets, are indescribable. A hundred who escaped and fled were overtaken, hung up by the feet over the snow-covered

ground, and left to perish. The principal burgomaster was tortured by exposing the soles of his feet to a slow fire. He agreed to pay a large ransom, but hardly had he furnished it than he was hanged in his own doorway." By this method of warfare the whole country was cowed, except Holland and Zealand.

Amsterdam was the only town in Holland which still held out against Alva. Between Amsterdam and the German ocean lies Harlem. Alva resolved upon the capture of this town, and sent Don Frederic de Toledo, his son, to invest it with 30,000 men. The garrison of Harlem consisted of but 4,000 men, and the fortifications were not strong; but the women and children joined in the defense, and for seven months Harlem sustained a siege, the most memorable in history. In vain did Orange exert himself to throw reinforcements into the town; it was compelled to surrender (July 12, 1573), and then followed the usual massacre. Two thousand three hundred citizens were murdered in cold blood. It had cost the Spaniards to take the town the lives of 12,000 of their best fighting men, not to speak of the cost in money. They were less fortunate in their attempts to take Alkmar, farther north on the same peninsula which separated the Zuyder Zee from the German ocean. The authorities of the town had determined with the consent of Orange, to open the dykes and flood the country, and Don Frederic, having discovered their intentions to drown him out, raised the siege and drew off his army.

All this time the Prince of Orange was putting forth every effort in behalf of his country. By the spirit he infused into the people he prevented them from being quite overwhelmd by successive disasters. It was not only battles and sieges that he had to direct, but all the

cares of the Government devolved upon him. Particularly difficult was the work of raising money and troops. All his own means had been exhausted. He was in daily correspondence with the principal courts of Europe, that of Spain among the number. He negotiated with Charles of France, and had still hopes of forming an alliance with that monarch. It was in the month of October of this year that the Prince publicly joined the Reformed Church at Dort.

In the following month Alva took his departure from the Netherlands. He boasted that he had caused 18,600 persons to be executed. The number of those whom he had caused to perish by battle, starvation, and massacre could not be reckoned. He had gained the hatred of all men, and he even feared to travel through France, lest he should be shot in his carriage. He had become deeply involved in debt while in the Netherlands, and he left without paying one of his creditors. This wholesale murderer and thief afterward fell into disgrace with Philip, who employed him as a General in the war with Portugal. He died of a lingering disease in 1582.

In October, 1573, the army of Requesens, the new Governor of the Provinces, laid siege to the town of Leyden. This was one of the most beautiful cities of the Netherlands, situated on the Rhine—on one of the forks through which it enters the German ocean—in the midst of broad and smiling pastures, gardens, and orchards, at a distance of some fifteen miles from the sea. A force of 8,000 men invested the city, while within the walls there were only five companies of the burgher guard, and a small body of free-booters. The town was, however, well defended by its commandant, John Van der Does, and the siege continued all through the winter.

In order to relieve Leyden Louis of Nassau raised in Germany a small army with which he crossed the Rhine in March, in a heavy snow storm, and advanced toward Nimeguen, between the River Rhine and the Meuse. Here he was met by Avila, the Spanish commander, and a fierce battle ensued, which ended in a defeat of Louis' army. Louis and his brother Henry were both slain. The army was entirely annihilated, those who were not slain in battle being drowned in the marshes or burned in the farm houses to which they fled.

This defeat and the death of his two brothers was a terrible blow to the Prince of Orange. Still, he hastened to encourage the citizens of Leyden, while he continued to make efforts for their relief. His own forces, encamped at Delft and Rotterdam, were insufficient for offensive operations, and seeing no hope of adding to their number, he determined to execute a plan which he had long meditated as a last resort, namely, to break the dykes and let the ocean in upon the enemy. The damage would be enormous, for the whole country would be devastated; but since the destruction of Louis' army there was no land force to beat back the foe. The sea once admitted, his fleet, which had already proved its superiority over that of the Spaniards, could sail up to the very walls of Leyden.

On the 21st of August the citizens of Leyden addressed a letter to Orange, saying that they had fulfilled their promise to hold out three months; that their malt cake would only last four days more, and after that they must starve. The Prince was then lying ill at Rotterdam, of a fever induced by overwork and anxiety. Still he dictated a reply from his sick bed, telling them that the dykes were all pierced and the water was rising.

To get the ocean from the outer dyke to the walls

of Leyden was the work of more than a week. There were several dykes to be pierced. As the water flowed through the breaches and flooded the land beyond, the fleet followed, the new-made sea being deep enough to float it. As the fleet neared the town the difficulties increased, for the waters were shallower and it was necessary to follow the canals. But a tempest came opportunely to pile up the waters and the fleet rode forward. Then a fierce midnight battle took place among the flooded orchards and farm houses, where the enemy's vessels were soon sunk and their crews drowned. Next, there were two forts to be taken, both well supplied with soldiers and cannon. But from one of them the Spaniards, seized with a panic, fled, and many were drowned as they fled. In the other there were signs of a determination to resist, and Boisot, the Admiral of the fleet, wrote a despondent letter to Orange, for it seemed impossible either to pass the guns of the fort or to carry it by storm. Night descended, pitch dark, a night of terrible anxiety for the Admiral and of despair for the starving people of Leyden. In the darkness lights were seen flitting across the waste of waters. What did they portend? Day broke, and Boisot prepared to assault the fort, but a deathlike stillness prevailed. For a time he believed that Leyden had been taken in the night. But presently a boy was seen waving his cap from the top of the fort. The Spaniards had fled in the darkness, and Leyden was saved.

Spain had spent enormous sums of money in the war; her finances were crippled, and she was willing to treat with her rebellious subjects. Peace negotiations were opened at Breda in March, 1575; but Philip would make no concessions satisfactory to Orange and the States-General, and nothing came of the negotiations.

In the summer of 1575 a union was established between Holland and Zealand. In the articles of union drawn up, it was declared that the Prince of Orange, as sovereign, should have absolute power in all matters concerning the defense of the country, which he was to govern in the name of the King. He was to protect the exercise of the Reformed religion, and to suppress the exercise of the Romish religion, without, however, permitting that search should be made into any person's belief. The Prince insisted that the words "religion at variance with the Gospel," should be used instead of the words "Romish religion." This being granted, he formally accepted the government on this basis.

Still the war went on; and on the whole the Spaniards were the more successful. The nobles and deputies of Holland seeing no prospect of satisfactory terms of peace with Philip, voted "that it was their duty to abandon the King, as a tyrant who sought to oppress and destroy his subjects, and that it behooved them to seek another protector." The sovereignty of Holland was offered successively to Elizabeth of England, and to Charles IX of France, only to be declined by each. It was now that a sublime, but desperate idea filled the Prince's head, viz., to call out the vessels of every kind, and to take on board the whole population of Holland together with all their movable property, to burn the windmills, pierce the dykes, open the sluices in every direction, and restore the country forever to the ocean and seek new homes in some distant land. The unexpected death of Requesens, the King's Governor, prevented the execution of this project.

After the death of the Governor the affairs of the Netherlands were for a time left by Philip in the hands of the Council of State. Orange thought the opportunity favorable for opening a correspondence with the leading men

throughout the Provinces, for thus far only two of the seventeen, namely, Holland and Zealand, had ventured upon resistance to the King's arbitrary measures. What the Prince desired was the convocation of the States-General, which, by a strong and united protest, might yet, he conceived, move the King from his obstinate position. An event—a frightful event—which now occurred, aided Orange in this effort to arouse the Southern States from their apathy. The Spanish soldiers, whose pay was in long arrears, mutinied, imprisoned their officers and started on a lawless round of pillage and murder through the Lower Provinces. Many towns and cities were sacked by these marauders, Catholics and Protestants being alike the sufferers, and horrible atrocities were committed. Among these unfortunate towns was Antwerp. Three thousand Spanish soldiers succeeded in effecting an entrance into the town (Nov. 4, 1576), set fire to the houses and began a fiendish work of murder and pillage. During a whole day this "Spanish Fury," as it has been called, went on despite the utmost efforts of the authorities, backed by the burghers, to check it. The next day Antwerp presented a ghastly sight indeed. The magnificent marble Townhouse was a ruin of blackened walls; the most splendid part of the city had been consumed; and dead bodies lay everywhere. Six millions of property had been destroyed, besides the immense amount of movable treasure which had been carried off by the marauders.

Already a convention had assembled at Ghent, in which were representatives from fourteen of the Provinces. A plan of union was now drawn up, which became the basis of the celebrated "Union of Brussels," formed in the following January (1577). The object of this important agreement—which was signed by all the leading men in

all the provinces—was to compass the immediate expulsion of the Spaniards, the maintenance of the Catholic religion and at the same time the suspension of all edicts against heresy, the support of the King's authority and the defense of the constitution of the Fatherland.

In the formation of this "Union" as well as in the treaty previously signed at Ghent, the Prince of Orange had taken a leading part. He knew well that no one appointed by the King as Regent would observe either treaty. Don John of Austria, the natural son of Charles V, had just been appointed to that office. It was morally certain that the new Regent would attempt to cajole the States-General with fair promises which he had no intention of keeping, and Orange advised, therefore, that an attempt should be made to seize Don John and hold him as a hostage to be used for exhorting from Philip the concessions which the States-General demanded. He was therefore greatly irritated when in February, the States-General, after a long negotiation with Don John before he was permitted to enter the Provinces, signed, without consulting Orange, the "Perpetual Edict," a document drawn up in Philip's name, and which, with a show of promising much, really guaranteed nothing.

The affairs of the Netherlands during the ensuing seven years are so multifarious and confused, so many new actors appearing upon the scene, that it would be impracticable to attempt to follow them in detail here. Throughout this time the States-General continued to sit and were nominally in authority, but often in conflict with the Regent, first with Don John and later with the Duke of Parma. Orange was really the controlling spirit. "This is the pilot who guides the bark," wrote Don John to Philip. "He (Orange) can alone save or destroy it."

Don John was, therefore, exceedingly desirous of conciliating the Prince. As soon as he had fairly entered upon his office as Governor he made many overtures to him. "I am negotiating with him," Don John wrote to Philip. "Things have reached such a pass that 'tis necessary to make a virtue of necessity."

But the most splendid offers which Don John could make, in the name of Philip, failed to move the Prince in the slightest from his devotion to the welfare of his country. He had now the opportunity to gain all the world has to offer—riches, power, pomp, luxury, rewards for himself and his family, in exchange for poverty, unnumbered anxieties, outlawry, continual risk of assassination, if only he would consent to betray the hearts who had trusted him; but never for an instant did he hesitate as to the choice to make. In replying to the overtures of Don John, Orange thanked his Highness with grave irony for inviting him to a tranquil life, but he added that the promises he had made to the poor Netherlanders were of more importance to him.

Don John entered Brussels on the first of May, and was not long in becoming involved in trouble with the States-General, who charged him justly with not fulfilling all the terms of the "Perpetual Edict." He soon after retired to Namur, the citadel of which town he treacherously got possession of. The Prince of Orange was now invited to Brussels, and he became virtually the Governor of the Netherlands. The States-General sought his advice in all matters and deferred to his judgment. And even when, toward the close of the year, the young Archduke Matthias, of Austria, who had been invited to the Netherlands by some of the Catholic nobles who were jealous of Orange, had received from the States-General

an appointment as Governor-General of the Provinces, the Prince, who was made his Lieutenant, still held the real power, the Archduke being simply a figure head.

But where was Don John all this time? He was at Namur, half frenzied with rage, but not idle. Determined to reëstablish by force the King's authority in the provinces, he had been gathering an army together which, by the end of the year, amounted to 20,000 men. The States on their side had mustered an army of nearly the same number of troops, but not so well officered or disciplined. The two armies met at Gemblours, nine miles from Namur, on the last day of January (1578), and the Netherlanders were utterly routed. In an hour and a half the affair was over; they were exterminated, while hardly a Spaniard was wounded.

The result of this victory was that a dozen or more towns of the Lower Provinces fell into the hands of Don John. But it also roused the States-General to a more strenuous effort. All parties united in conferring upon Orange full power to act in the emergency; a new army was collected, and in August another engagement took place, in the plain between Herenthals and Lier. After eight hours of hard fighting Philip's troops were obliged to retire from the field. Don John fell back upon Namur. Here, not long after, he died of fever, having been watched over in his last illness by his nephew, Alexander of Parma, whom he appointed his successor.

To give the complete story of the Netherlands in the six years which intervened between these events and the death of the Prince of Orange, it would be necessary to speak of the aid furnished by Queen Elizabeth, of England; of the Duke of Alençon, who succeeded Matthias as Governor-General; of negotiations with

France, as well as of continued negotiations with Philip; of tumults in Ghent, where the populace rose on the Catholics and smote their images and pictures; of the siege and capture of Maestricht by Parma's soldiers, followed, as usual, by terrible barbarities; and, sadder still, of treason among some of the Prince's trusted followers. But already we have studied details sufficient to give us an idea of the Prince's method and of his untiring energy and of the terrible character of the warfare. One important result of the struggle must, however, not be passed over. Toward the close of the year 1578 the Walloon Provinces, in which the Catholic religion was in the ascendency, namely, Artois, Hainault, Lille, Douay, and Orchies, made their peace with Philip, and in the following January formed a separate league together. This move induced the Prince to seek to consolidate more firmly the Provinces which were still in rebellion. In December 1578 he laid before the States of Holland and Zealand the project of a new union with Gelderland, Ghent, Friesland, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen. This treaty was published the 29th of January, 1579, from the Town House of Utrecht, and it is forever memorable as the foundation of the Netherland Republic. In the following May the articles of the union were duly signed. The Prince of Orange was chosen the first Stadtholder, which office he continued to hold during the short remainder of his life.

Don John of Austria had attempted in vain to bribe the Prince of Orange; the Duke of Parma determined, unhappily not in vain, that he should be assassinated. Such was the advice he gave to Philip, and such had always been the counsel of Cardinal Granvelle. Accordingly, the famous Ban was drawn up by Philip and Granvelle, and published in the Netherlands, June, 1580,

a document which will ever remain a lasting monument to the infamy of both. It accused the Prince of many crimes, of rebellion, of introducing liberty of conscience, of a new conspiracy called the Utrecht Union, of violating the treaty of Ghent, etc. For these good reasons he was declared a traitor, and a reward of 25,000 crowns in gold was offered to whosoever would deliver the said Prince to his Majesty "dead of alive;" and, as a further inducement, the clause was added: "If he (the assassin) have committed any crime, however heinous, we promise to pardon him, and if he be not already noble, we will ennoble him for his valor."

Orange answered this Ban by the defiance of his "Apology," one of the most impressive documents in history, which was sent to most of the crowned heads of Europe. In this paper he went minutely over all of the unwarrantable and infamous acts which Philip had committed against the Netherlands and against humanity, while, as to the allegiance which he owed to the King of Spain, he adverted to the fact that the Nassaus had occupied illustrious positions and had ruled as sovereigns in the Netherlands when Philip's family, the Hapsburgs, were only obscure squires in Switzerland.

A most important step was now taken by the Provinces after their long hesitation. On the 26th of July, 1581, the United Netherlands assembled at The Hague, solemnly declared their independence and renounced their allegiance to Philip forever.

The first attempt on the Prince's life—the first, at least, to be nearly successful, for he had several times narrowly escaped this danger—was made on Sunday, March 18, 1582. He was shot with a pistol in his house, in the midst of guests, by a vulgar-looking youth, who had approached him on the pretense of offering a peti-

tion. The Prince was struck under the right ear, the ball coming out under the left jaw and carrying away two teeth. The assassin was instantly cut down by the rapiers of the bystanders. The young man proved to be a servant of one Gasper Anastro, a Spanish merchant of Antwerp, who succeeded in making good his escape, though his secretary, who was proved to have been an accomplice, was seized, tried, and executed. The Prince's wound was a dangerous one, and his life was for several days despaired of.

On Tuesday, the 10th of July, 1584, occurred the ever memorable assassination of the Prince of Orange by Balthazar Gerard. The scene was at Delft, in the Prince's own house. He had risen from the table where he had dined with the members of his family and a single guest, and was mounting the stairs leading to his private apartment, when a man emerged from the shadow of an archway and discharged a pistol full at his heart. Three balls entered his body, one passing quite through and hitting the opposite wall. The Prince exclaimed: "O my God, have mercy on my soul; have mercy on this poor people." These were the last words he uttered.

The murderer escaped through a side door; but was pursued and captured. He proved to be a man whom the Prince had often befriended, and who had gone under the assumed name of François Guion. He had professed to be the son of a man who had suffered death as a Reformer, and he had made himself notable by his pretense of great piety. It came out upon investigation, that he was the son of a Catholic father who was still living; that he had harbored his design upon the Prince's life for seven years, and, furthermore, that the Duke of Parma was aware of the attempt he was about

to make. The poor wretch was put to the most excruciating torture, and was finally executed with great barbarity, four days after the performance of his villainous act.

William of Orange was four times married. By his first wife, Anne of Egmont, he had one son, Philip, and one daughter, Mary; by his second wife, Anne of Saxony, he had one son, the celebrated Maurice of Nassau, and two daughters; by his third wife, Charlotte of Bourbon, he had six daughters; and by his fourth wife, Louisa de Coligny, he had one son, Frederic Henry, afterward Stadtholder of the Republic which his noble father had founded.

The Prince had just entered upon his fifty-second year at the time of his assassination. His health was excellent, his constitution unimpaired, and he had every prospect of a long and useful life. Had he lived, there was every reason to hope for a union of the whole country with the exception of the Walloon Provinces. But in the year following his death Ghent and Antwerp fell before the scientific efforts of Parma, and their fall helped to complete the separation of the Netherlands. The great principle for which Orange had fought was toleration in religion. He had always insisted that the Catholics as well as the Protestants should be suffered to exercise their worship unmolested, and he lived long enough to see this principle fully established in the freed Provinces.

William the Silent, like all other great men, has had his detractors. He has been charged with being of a timid temperament, with being ambitious. As to the first charge, no man who can face and expostulate with a howling mob as the Prince of Orange did at Antwerp, or who can traverse crowded thoroughfares without an

escort, knowing that a price has been set upon his head, merits to be called timid; and as to the second charge, the sort of ambition which renders a man willing to sacrifice a princely fortune, almost to beggar himself, to free his country from tyranny, which impels him to spurn with contempt offers of power, and pomp, to refuse to accept the sovereignty of a country and to rest content with the plain title of "Father William"—this is the sort of ambition which the world delights to honor.

RICHELIEU

1585-1642

THE KING'S WILL SHALL BE LAW

France has given to history four characters, who may be regarded as typical of the classes to which they severally belonged. Napoleon Bonaparte stands as the greatest of military geniuses of modern, perhaps, of all times. Robespierre typifies the vengeance of a people ground to the dust by long and intolerable oppression; Louis XIV was the most courtly, yet most absolute of tyrants, and the Cardinal Richelieu, who for a quarter of a Century ruled France, was the most able, the most unscrupulous, the most successful of ministers. These four characters stand in close relation one to another. Without a Richelieu, to consolidate the royal authority in France and to destroy all opposition to it, there could have been no Louis XIV. Without the "Grand Monarque," who declared himself the State, there would have been no call for a Robespierre, and without the horrors of the French Revolution a Napoleon could hardly have arisen. The story of Richelieu is therefore one of a peculiar interest.

Armand Jean du Plessis, of Richelieu, was born in Paris on the 5th of September, 1585. His family was noble, but not wealthy. His father was distinguished in arms and held several important posts at the court of Henry IV of France; his mother, the daughter of an ancient house, was a woman endowed with strong natural sense and was well educated. Five years after

the birth of Armand his father died, leaving three sons, of whom he was the youngest, and two daughters, who were married early to nobles of the French court. In those days the Church and the Camp were the usual resources of the younger branches of noble houses, and as the bishopric of Luçon, which the family of Plessis could command for one of the sons, was destined for Alphonso, the second, Armand, the youngest of the three, was dedicated from his infancy to the profession of arms.

Having completed the course of his education, begun at home under the guidance of his mother, and rounded off in the colleges of Navarre and Lisieux, Richelieu, at as early an age as possible, entered the army. But an unforeseen event soon changed his plans. His brother Alphonso, who had been appointed to the bishopric, and who was of a melancholy temperament, suddenly formed the resolution of abandoning the world. Giving up his charge, he retired to a monastery. It was desirable that the See, thus left vacant, should be kept in the family; and accordingly Richelieu was induced to quit his profession of arms, and to apply himself to the study of theology.

His theological studies seem to have been quickly completed. In 1606, while still considerably below the age which the Church had fixed for consecration to the episcopal office, he made his formal application to the Pope for appointment to the vacant See. His age being an obstacle in his way, he found it necessary to visit Rome, and have a personal interview with the Pope. The story of this interview has been told variously. The point of it is that the youthful applicant deceived the Pope as to his age, obtained the appointment, then confessed the lie he had told, and begged and obtained

an absolution for his fault. The story goes on to say that the Pope, Paul V, instead of evincing any indignation at the deceit, admired the cleverness of the person who had practiced it.

A clever person indeed young Richelieu proved to be. Having obtained the bishopric, he decided to push his fortunes at the court. Here he found an ample field for the exercise of his peculiar talents, one of which, mendacity, has already been exemplified. To this may be added cunning, hypocrisy, a long head and a total lack of principle. Add to these virtues, every one of which became conspicuously prominent in the course of his career, an oily tongue and a suave manner, and we have the secret of his first successes. France had long been rent by factions which had been quietly but not wholly suppressed by the power of Henry IV, and the court of that monarch was still filled with jealous and intriguing leaders, each bent on promoting his own interests. To none of these parties did the far-sighted bishop of Luçon attach himself. He selected as the person most likely to aid in his advancement an Italian adventurer, Concino Concini, who stood in especial favor with the Queen, Mary de' Medici, and to him he paid court.

Fortune, in a very unexpected way, proved propitious to Richelieu in this first move. On the 14th of May, 1610, Henry IV was assassinated, and the regency of the Kingdom fell immediately into the hands of Mary de' Medici. The schemes of the great monarch were abandoned as soon as his eyes were closed. An instant scramble took place at court for power and favor, among the turbulent nobles, the chief of whom were the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Bouillon, the Count of Soissons; but this period of the regency may be dis-

missed with the simple statement that during it Richelieu made himself so serviceable to the Queen that she appointed him one of the counselors of the State, and that he also succeeded in making himself heartily hated by the nobles of all factions.

Louis XIII was a weak and irresolute Prince, who found his chief pleasure in the chase, and was well content to leave to his mother the trouble of ruling the Kingdom. There was, therefore, some surprise at court when, on attaining his majority, he resolved to take the Government into his own hands. He chose as his first counselor Luines, a young man of no very high qualifications, who had been his favorite comrade; and he signalized the beginning of his reign by causing the assassination of Concini, the favorite of his mother, and making her an honorable prisoner in the Castle of Blois. The Ministers who had been appointed by Mary were dismissed, with the exception of Richelieu, who, with his usual sagacity, had taken good care to secure the friendship of Luines, who now interceded for him with the King. Finding, however, that the King, though he retained him in his council, was not disposed to be particularly gracious, Richelieu retired from the court to his bishopric at Luçon.

A plot was formed to release the Queen-mother and restore her to power. She was taken from Blois by the Duke of Épernon and was conducted to Angoulême. Negotiations followed between the King and his mother, in which Richelieu was invited to take a leading part. Terms of reconciliation were agreed upon, and a meeting between the King and his mother, at which Richelieu was present, took place at Tours. The Queen refused, however, to return to Paris with her son, and presently their harmony was again disturbed by the

failure of the King to perform all the stipulations of their agreement. A revolt of Normandy in the Queen's behalf followed, which was put down by Condé. Then there were fresh negotiations, Richelieu again acting as the Queen's friend and counselor. Matters were finally adjusted and the Queen returned to Paris.

One of the stipulations of this new treaty of Mary with the King was that he should apply to the See of Rome for a Cardinal's hat for her favorite, Richelieu. The application was made, but the Pope was given to understand that the King was not particularly interested in the matter, and it was not until after many subterfuges had been resorted to by the King to prevent the fulfilment of the wishes of his mother that Richelieu was finally created a Cardinal.

Before this event occurred Luines, the King's favorite adviser, died. Luines had from the first been a firm friend of Richelieu, and by his death all the hopes which the prelate had conceived from this friendship were destroyed in a day. But the King was now without a favorite, and Richelieu determined to force himself into the vacant place. The task would not be easy, for Louis had on every occasion evinced toward him a personal dislike and distrust, which were carefully fostered by all who dreaded the prelate's superiority. But Richelieu schemed and waited, anticipating that the machinations of one weak courtier against another would, in the end, render his powerful aid necessary to the monarch, and the event justified his sagacity.

Richelieu was made a Cardinal on the 25th of September, 1622, and a few days afterward, was, through the solicitation of the Queen-mother, again admitted to the Privy Council, in which his ecclesiastical rank gave him precedence over all the other members. Louis had had

a number of favorites since the death of Luines. At this time that station was filled by Vieville, a man who had shown some caution before his rise, but had subsequently so far presumed upon his influence with the King as to have signed orders, corresponded with Ambassadors, agreed to treaties, without the sanction of the monarch or the council. Vieville hated Richelieu, and once when the King repeated to him some of the praises of the Cardinal, which were constantly poured into his ears, the favorite had the imprudence to reply that the Cardinal was certainly a man of talent; but, if he were to be intrusted with authority, the King would soon have to ask his mother's permission before he went out to hunt. The monarch was offended, and the Queen still more so, and every art was employed to work the downfall of the rash favorite. He was not long in affording himself an occasion by omitting an article from the treaty relating to the marriage of Charles I of England and Henrietta of France, without the knowledge of the King. Louis himself, overcoming his natural timidity, reproved him so severely that Vieville resigned the offices which he held. A few days afterward he was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Amboise. From that moment Richelieu assumed the entire direction of the council, and his authority knew only a brief interruption until the end of his days.

One of Richelieu's first measures as virtual Prime Minister of France brought him into direct collision with the Pope. Austria had seized upon the territories of the Grisons, thus securing her communication between the Tyrol and the Milanese. France, in connection with Switzerland and Savoy, had objected, and prepared to oust the Austrians by force. Austria had made over the territory in trust to the Pope. Negotiations

had followed which the Pope had craftily prolonged. Thus stood the transaction when Richelieu was admitted to the council of France, and from that moment the aspect of affairs was changed. He menaced, as former Ministers had menaced, but did more; he began to act. When the papal nuncio remonstrated with him personally, asking how he, a prelate of the Church of Rome, could reconcile it to his conscience to make war against the head of that Church, he at once defined the line between the spiritual and secular dominion of the Holy See, and intimated that he would be always ready to meet all her secular operations with secular means. He added that if the Pope impugned this doctrine, he would have it supported by a hundred doctors of the Sorbonne. The reply was followed up by sending rapidly through Switzerland a small French force into the territory in dispute. The Austrians and Papal troops were taken by surprise and retired without resistance, while the French occupied the abandoned forts. Then Richelieu listened to the appeal of the Holy See, and granted a suspension of hostilities.

An attack made by the French upon Genoa, which nearly produced a rupture between France and Austria, occurred soon after this event; but it led to no important consequences, and may be passed over. It would appear that from his first accession to power Richelieu meditated war with both branches of the house of Austria, partly from the personal motive of rendering himself necessary to the King and partly because to snatch from the Emperor some portion of his great power was necessary to the safety of France and of Europe. But before he could venture upon foreign war

it was essential to secure the internal tranquillity of France.

The turbulent state of the French court after the death of Henry IV, the daring insolence of the nobles, have already been referred to. To this source of danger must be added the more justifiable movements of the Huguenots. There can be no doubt that Richelieu both clearly discerned the causes and had considered the best means of putting an end to disorders which arose in the abused power of some classes and tended to the ruin of the whole. Throughout his ministry we shall find but one general plan pursued for crushing all resistance to the royal authority, on whatever ground it was raised. The plan itself and the means employed for executing it speak strongly of the arbitrary and despotic nature of the man, though it must be admitted that there was necessity for the intervention of a strong hand to regulate the disorganized state of France. The principal bodies with which he had to deal were the nobility, the Parliaments, and the Huguenots. He determined to crush them all; he determined that the King should be absolute master in his Kingdom, with the saving clause that he, Richelieu, should be master of the King. Such was the ambitious aim of Richelieu, and such was the work which he actually accomplished.

His first success was won over the nobility. The opportunity was afforded by the famous conspiracy of Chalais. Gaston of France, Duke of Anjou, and afterward Duke of Orleans, the King's only brother, was a young man of a vacillating character, easily led by men of stronger purpose. The Duke was gradually involved by the enemies of Richelieu in an intrigue which, though at first it seemed to have no other purpose than

to secure for him and his friends recognition which had been refused them in the counsels of the State, ended in a conspiracy to assassinate the Cardinal. The plot was discovered through the imprudence of one of the conspirators, the Marquis de Chalais, who revealed all its details to a friend whom he expected to draw into it, but who, to his dismay, not only refused to lend his aid, but insisted that Chalais should accompany him to Richelieu and make a complete disclosure, which he did. And now we have an example of the finesse of the wily Cardinal. Instead of ordering the arrest of the conspirators, Richelieu simply took care to foil by his movements the concerted attack, in which the Duke of Anjou himself was to have taken a part, and allowed the conspiracy to run on, Chalais being ordered to keep up his relations with the plotters.

At length, in the month of May, 1626, the court removed to Blois, and the intrigue proceeded so rapidly, and had extended so far, that Richelieu found it was necessary to cut it short. Already it comprehended almost all the great nobles whom he had cause to fear. Accordingly, the net was drawn in. The great majority of those who were caught, from being allied by blood to the King, were sheltered from the extreme of Richelieu's vengeance. But he had the satisfaction of causing the arrest of the powerful Duke of Vendôme and his brother, and stripping both of their dignities. The Duke of Épernon and his son, the Marquis la Valette, took warning in time and fled to Metz. Against the Duke of Anjou nothing, of course, could be done, but he was used as an instrument for discovering and punishing his confederates. Chalais had foolishly involved himself more deeply in the conspiracy. The King was brought to believe that he had entertained the design of

poisoning him at the instigation of the Duke of Anjou. Chalais was arrested and executed, but not until he had made a confession so serviceable to Richelieu that it was generally believed to have been extorted from him by a promise of pardon.

This confession of Chalais was held by Richelieu as a club with which to keep the most powerful of his enemies at a distance from the court. He also made it a means of publicly insulting the young Queen, Anne of Austria, and of giving the King that aversion and distrust toward her which he henceforward showed to the end of his life. No children had hitherto proceeded from the royal marriage, and in the declaration of Chalais it appeared that one of the objects of the conspiracy had been to declare the King impotent, to confine him to a monastery and, marrying the Duke of Anjou to his brother's wife, to place him on the throne of the deposed monarch. The young Queen was brought before the council, was compelled to listen to the recital of this absurd story, and was then reproached and threatened by the King on account of plans in which there was not the slightest probability of her having taken any part.

The danger incurred by Richelieu from this conspiracy was made the pretext for obtaining from the King a guard to protect his person. Henceforward, besides being Prime Minister, he became Grand Master of the Navigation and Commerce of France.

Richelieu next turned his attention to the Huguenots, who were even more objectionable in his sight than the nobles, because they had justice on their side and the sympathy of all who loved justice throughout Europe. The Huguenots formed, in a certain sense, a State within a State. They had their own nobles, their own leaders, their own magistrates; they possessed their

own towns, had their own fleets and their own armies; they were an enterprising and industrious people, united in a bond of union which gave energy to small means. There were two ways of dealing with them. The first was to do them justice, to fulfill all that had been promised by the edict of Nantes, and in subsequent treaties, and thus gradually to attach them to the Government of France. The second was to crush them and take away their means of defense. Richelieu chose the latter course.

The great stronghold of the Huguenots was the town of Rochelle, on the southwest coast of France. Without detailing the earlier operations in a war into which they had been forced by the persistent failure of the King to keep his promises to them, and which was carried on both in this section of France and in Languedoc, where they were also strong, we may come at once to the famous siege of Rochelle. England had espoused the cause of the Huguenots, and an English fleet under Buckingham was already off Rochelle prepared to throw provisions and reënforcements into the place, when Richelieu, resorting to his peculiar tactics of diplomacy, induced the authorities of the town to close their gates to their English allies, by holding out to them the prospect of an advantageous peace. Buckingham, excluded from Rochelle, made some demonstrations at different points on the French coast, and then returned to England.

Already Rochelle had been invested on the land side by an army commanded by the Duke of Orleans, yet very little had been accomplished. But at length the King, who had been detained by a fever, arrived, accompanied by Richelieu, and affairs soon assumed a different aspect. This was late in the autumn of 1627. During

the winter the works against the town proceeded, while the royal army, with the King and Cardinal at the head, passed the whole of the inclement season in the field. Richelieu had assumed a new character, that of General, and a certain portion of the works was placed under his command.

But while on the land side Rochelle was completely invested, its port was still open, and through this avenue supplies were continually carried into the city. To close the port Richelieu conceived a plan, which, while it was worthy of his daring and energetic mind, was so vast in conception that both friends and enemies prognosticated its failure. Choosing a spot on which the cannon of the town could not be brought to bear, Richelieu determined there to construct a dyke across the mouth of the long and narrow port of Rochelle. The work was one of immense labor, and its progress was slow; yet day after day the people of Rochelle found themselves more and more straitened, till at length the whole work was completed, shutting up the port by a mound across its mouth three-fourths of a mile in length, eighty feet in breadth at the base and twenty-five feet broad at the causeway on the top.

After the construction of this gigantic piece of engineering the surrender of the town was only a question of time. The terms granted were far less severe than might have been expected. A general pardon was granted for the past, the exercise of the Protestant religion was guaranteed to all; and all rights to their property in or out of the town were secured to the Protestants. But the King reserved the regulation of their magistracy to himself, and announced his determination of raising the fortifications of the town.

Fifteen thousand persons are said to have died of

hunger, or of disease during the siege of Rochelle. In many of the houses whole families were found dead. Large quantities of provisions, however, were brought into the city, by order of Richelieu, and the starvation was arrested.

While the siege of Rochelle was still in progress an event occurred in Italy which led to hostilities between France and Austria. The Duke of Mantua died without children, and two persons laid claim to the right of succeeding to his Dukedom, one of whom the Duke of Nevers, a Frenchman, succeeded in getting possession of the duchy. France espoused the cause of Nevers, while the Duke of Savoy, aided by the Spaniards, took up the cause of the rival claimant. The Pope was drawn into the controversy and also the Emperor of Austria. The war which followed was confined to Savoy, whither the King and Richelieu together led an army of 30,000 men, and it ended after little more than a demonstration of hostility on the part of France, in a treaty which ensured the Duke of Nevers the possession of Mantua.

In connection with this war there occurred incidents of much greater interest than the military operations—occurrences which led to the final rupture of Richelieu with his benefactress, Mary de' Medici. Persuaded by the predictions of astrologers that the King was drawing near his end, and that the Duke of Orleans, his brother, would soon mount the throne of France, Mary sought earnestly to force her younger son into a marriage with Anne, daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a Princess over whom she hoped to establish a permanent influence. But Orleans objected, for two excellent reasons, first, because Anne was ugly, and, second, because he was deeply in love with the beautiful Mary de

Gonzague, daughter of the Duke of Nevers, the same who had just inherited the duchy of Mantua. A family quarrel was the consequence, into which the King and finally Richelieu were drawn.

Without going into all of the particulars of a matter which ran on for a year or more, we may come to the catastrophe. Mary had become furious both at the continued obstinacy of her son, the Duke of Orleans, and at the opposition which she had sustained from Richelieu in the course of her maneuvers. She had on one occasion taken the bold step of arresting and confining the Princess Mary and her aunt, an abuse of authority which greatly incensed the King, who lost no time in liberating the prisoners. Richelieu is said to have expressed himself strongly to the monarch in regard to his mother's views, pointing out that if he suffered her to extend her influence in such a manner, her domination must soon become insupportable, and from this time forward the Minister used all his power gradually to deprive Mary de' Medici of the authority which he had formerly contributed to restore.

At last came the crisis. The King, desirous of effecting a reconciliation between his mother and his Minister, obtained her permission to introduce to her presence Richelieu and his niece, Madame de Combalet, who was one of the ladies of her household, with a promise that she would treat them civilly. But she had determined on this occasion to bring her influence over the King to a last trial against that of the Cardinal. When the Minister and his niece arrived, she ordered them to be admitted separately. As soon as she beheld Richelieu's niece all her passions broke forth, and she assailed her with such low and violent invective that Madame de Combalet retired from her presence in tears.

Richelieu saw from the countenance of his niece, as she passed through the room in which he waited, the reception she had met with, and soon found that his own was not to be milder. The Queen forgot the dignity of her station and the softness of her sex, and in language more fitted for the market than the court, called him rogue and traitor, and perturber of the public peace; then, turning to the King, she endeavored to persuade him that Richelieu wished to take the crown from his head, in order to place it upon that of the Count of Soissons.

When Richelieu, at the King's command, withdrew from the Queen's presence, he was in such uncertainty as to how the affair would end, that he ordered preparations to be made for his immediate departure from Paris. He felt sure of the King's regard, but distrusted the King's firmness, and his perplexity was increased when the King, at the close of the interview with his mother, left Paris for Versailles without seeing his Minister. These proceedings had been watched by the courtiers, and every one now believed the rule of Richelieu at an end. Directly the salons of the Luxembourg, where this scene had taken place, were crowded with eager nobles ready to worship the rising authority of the Queen-mother and to triumph with her over the fall of the favorite. Lucky were the few who were more circumspect and preferred to wait. It was not long until the news was circulated in whispers that the King had summoned Richelieu to Versailles.

The Cardinal was received by Louis with abundant expressions of regard and confidence. Rumors every moment reached Versailles of the immense concourse that was flocking to pay court to the Queen-mother, while the King himself was nearly deserted. Nothing could have better served the interests of Richelieu, since

all that he had said of the Queen's ambition was thus confirmed in the monarch's mind. Measures were at once concerted for punishing the principal personages of the Queen's cabal. Richelieu had carried the day.

The news spread quickly. On the following day the halls of the Luxembourg were deserted. The Queen-mother found herself abandoned by all those fawning sycophants, whose confidence and disappointment procured for the day preceding—the day of St. Martin, 1630—the title in French history of *The Day of Dupes.*

The outcome of this breach between the King and his mother was that not long after these occurrences Mary de' Medici was removed from court. She was at first banished to Compiègne. From this place she made her escape, with the connivance of Richelieu, and failing to find an asylum in France, crossed the borders into Flanders. The Duke of Orleans, aided by the Duke of Lorraine, raised a revolt in behalf of the banished Queen, which was quelled, however, with but little difficulty. The Duke of Lorraine made his peace with the King, while Orleans joined his exiled mother in Flanders. The adherents of the Queen and of Orleans were declared guilty of treason and their property was confiscated.

The power of Richelieu was now as nearly absolute as it well could be. There was but one opposing power left—the Parliament. But this obstacle was easily brushed aside. The Parliament was declared to be incompetent to deal with the matters of State. For disposing of all cases in which the King was interested a *Chamber of Justice* was created, subservient wholly to his will—which was that of his Minister.

Richelieu had, however, another rebellion to suppress before his position was fully secure. In the

beginning of July, 1632, the Duke of Orleans entered France on the side of Burgundy, and marching through Auvergne, proceeded toward Languedoc, which was the only province that openly favored his cause. The young Duke of Montmorency, son of the constable, commanded there as Governor, and dissatisfied with Richelieu as well as attached to the Queen-mother, he had engaged to give his support to the Duke of Orleans. In a battle near Castelnaudary, Montmorency was taken prisoner. The engagement had been a mere skirmish, and the Duke of Orleans, who commanded the main body of the insurgent army, instead of attempting a rescue, cowardly withdrew from the field. Orleans soon after made his peace with Richelieu, submitting to the most humiliating conditions. Montmorency was summarily tried, condemned, and executed in spite of the most strenuous efforts in his behalf. Neither the King nor Richelieu could be moved to extend mercy to one who, though taken in arms, had on more than one occasion rendered signal service to the State, and who, moreover, was the last of a long line of noble ancestors who had served with distinction on the staff of the monarchy. This execution of Montmorency was one of the most heartless of Richelieu's many cold-blooded deeds, far less effective toward restoring harmony in the State than would have been the pardon, which all the nobles of the realm solicited, and peculiarly odious from the circumstance that Montmorency had once offered to stand by Richelieu in a moment of extreme peril. Only two years before this time the King lay dangerously ill at Lyons. His death was momentarily looked for. Richelieu was in despair. In the event of the King's death his situation would be desperate indeed. The King himself realized this fact and obtained a promise of

Montmorency, then Governor of Languedoc, to convey Richelieu in this event to a place of safety. What was the motive of the Cardinal's implacability toward the unhappy Duke now, does not appear, but there can be no doubt that Richelieu counseled the King to severity, and Louis was willing to follow his advice.

After pacifying Languedoc, Richelieu rearranged the governorships of the provinces, removing hostile or suspected Governors and putting his own friends in their places. By the end of 1632 he had crushed all the serious elements of resistance throughout France.

The Duke of Orleans returned to Brussels, where, however, he was for a time shunned by his mother, who was justly offended that in the treaty he had concluded her interests had been totally forgotten. The unhappy Mary de' Medici still hoped to make some arrangement with Louis which would enable her to return to France, nor did she ever abandon this hope, notwithstanding the cold and unfilial treatment of her son. This seems a convenient place for concluding her story. Having remained for some years in Flanders, eagerly and vainly pressing for readmission to the court of France, and ever making her terms more moderate, she proceeded to England, arriving there just at the time when her son-in-law, Charles I, had entered upon his disastrous struggle with his Parliament. Thence she renewed her petitions to the King of France and the Cardinal. But Richelieu had from the first determined that the Queen-mother should never return to France; he had offended too deeply to forgive or to be forgiven. The King, whose scruples were only those instilled by his confessor, was easily prevailed upon to reject all her petitions. But even this did not satisfy the hatred with which Richelieu persecuted his former benefactress. He found an

excuse for withholding her dowry and thus depriving her of almost every comfort, and moreover, he procured her dismissal from England. Abandoned by her own children and trampled on by the creature of her bounty, the unhappy Mary de' Medici found herself deprived of every honorable refuge. The States of Holland dared not give her an asylum; the Regent of the Low Countries refused to receive her again. Betaking herself to the old city of Cologne, she lived there for a short time longer in indigence and neglect, and died an object of pity to all, but of affection to few.

Having regulated satisfactorily the internal affairs of France, having crushed opposition to his authority with an iron hand, Richelieu was able now to devote all his energies to the work of making great the Nation of which he had obtained control. His ambition was to enlarge her territory, to bring out her strength, and to make her the dominant power among the Nations. To do this he must humble the house of Austria, whose preponderating influence was a menace, not only to France, but to all Europe. To this one end was directed his whole foreign policy. Even the interest of his Church was subordinated to his politics, and he who cordially hated the Protestants and who had crushed them in France, was ready when the interest of France demanded to extend his aid to the Protestants of Germany.

The policy of Richelieu with relation to Austria was a simple one in conception, though not always easy of execution. It was to give aid to her enemies, without entering into actual hostilities, and without calling down upon himself the indignation of all the Catholics of Europe by giving too open support to the Protestants. He assisted the Netherlands in their struggle with the

Spaniard, and he formed an alliance with the famous Gustavus Adolphus, who had espoused the cause of the German Protestants.

In the same year (1632) in which Richelieu was engaged in putting down the revolt of the Duke of Orleans occurred the battle of Lützen, in which Gustavus Adolphus lost his life. Richelieu saw with alarm that Austria might soon be free to retaliate on France the many insults which she had been obliged to bear patiently while engaged with her struggle with the Swedish monarch. He applied himself therefore diligently, not only to impede the progress of all negotiations for either a truce or a peace, but also to encourage her enemies in other quarters. He formed an alliance with the Swedes, now commanded by Oxenstiern, the Minister of the late King, in which he stipulated to pay Sweden a subsidy of 1,000,000 livres per annum, in order to continue the war against the Empire. At the same time, as a negotiation was in progress at The Hague for a peace, or at least for a truce, between the United Provinces and the Spaniards of Flanders, Richelieu applied himself to put a stop to such a proceeding, by offering a million per annum to the States as long as they continued the war in that quarter, together with a secret reinforcement of 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse, to be sent as privately as possible by sea.

While Richelieu in this underhand way kept the hands of Austria tied, he availed himself of the opportunity to make the conquest of the Duchy of Lorraine, which he annexed to France. Various other encroachments upon the Empire were also made upon the same line, so that France bid fair soon to have nothing for her boundary but the Rhine. But presently the tide of affairs turned. The Swedes were unfortunate. Austria

gained successes in Germany which left her free to turn her attention to France. The Cardinal then saw that the time for petty encroachments had passed, and he advised the King to give the most powerful support that the country could afford to the enemies of the house of Austria. He prepared at once to carry war into Germany, Flanders, and Italy.

This was in 1634. From now on, until the close of his life—a period of seven years—Richelieu was engaged in foreign warfare. To give details of the various campaigns would be impracticable here; a statement of general results must suffice. The first campaigns—in 1635—were generally disastrous to the French. They were worsted on the sides of Savoy, Lorraine, and Flanders, though a few successes were gained elsewhere. The people murmured, and the whole blame was thrown upon the Cardinal. In the next year matters became still worse. The Spaniards entered France from the Low Countries and advanced toward Paris as far as Compiègne. The Parisians imagined that the Spanish troops were already at their gates; the King gave himself up to despair, and the lower orders made the streets ring with execrations upon the Cardinal. Richelieu was in poor health, but though suffering in body, and, we may well believe, in mind, he showed all the firmness which the situation required. He came to the capital, and by extraordinary efforts, he succeeded in raising an army of 50,000 men, with which he marched out to meet the enemy. The Spaniards, unable to keep the field against the superior power of France, retreated before it, throwing strong garrisons into Roye and Corbie, in the hope that reinforcements from the Low Countries would enable them to return and relieve those places, if besieged. Roye soon surrendered, and not long after

Corbie, also, capitulated and Richelieu returned triumphant to Paris.

The military operations of the next four years may be dismissed with the statement that no great battles were fought, and that the successes and defeats were quite fairly apportioned between France and her enemies.

We come to the year 1642, the last year of the life of Richelieu. He is feeble in body, though still as vigorous in mind as ever. There is a perceptible coldness in the King's demeanor toward him, for Cinq-Mars, grand *écuyer*, one of the creatures of Richelieu, has become weary of the domination of his master, and having established himself in the favor of Louis, has formed the design of the effecting the ruin of the Cardinal. The French army is to operate against Rousillon, on the lower border of France, and the Minister has determined, notwithstanding his bodily infirmities, to superintend the operations of the army in person; but not daring to leave the King exposed to the machinations of those who envied his power, he determines to carry the monarch with him.

Before setting out on this campaign, Richelieu gave to the court and the officers of the army one of those sumptuous entertainments by which from time to time he had displayed both his love of ostentation and a taste of a higher and more refined kind; then accompanied by the King, he set out for Rousillon, proposing ultimately to carry the war into the heart of Spain.

The most careful preparations had been made for this expedition by the forethought of Richelieu, and in its conduct he took the chief part. His main operation was against the town of Perpignan. The town was strongly fortified and garrisoned, and was able to hold

out for some months. During the progress of the siege Richelieu was taken ill; an abscess formed upon his arm; his lungs became affected, and leaving the King in command of the army he remained at Narbonne. All this while Cinq-Mars was working his conspiracy; he had drawn into it the Dukes of Bouillon and Orleans, had won popularity with the army, and accustomed the King to listen to bitter charges against the Minister. On his bed of sickness at Narbonne Richelieu heard rumors of his own loss of favor and of the ascendency of his enemies, and so despondent did he become that he is believed at one time to have meditated flight. But fortune favored him on this as it had done on many similar occasions. A copy of a treaty which the conspirators had made with Spain fell into his hands and was communicated to the King. Cinq-Mars, with others, was arrested, and the adroitness of Richelieu succeeded in drawing out all the details of the plot. Again the Minister had triumphed over his enemies. The King, convinced, though against his will, that treason had been meditated, humbly begged his Minister's forgiveness for having doubted his loyalty.

The King now returned to Paris, and Richelieu, having gained a little strength, soon followed him thither, borne in a magnificent litter, and thus, though ill, entered Paris with the pomp of an Eastern monarch. In due time Cinq-Mars was tried, convicted, and executed, together with one of his confederates. The Duke of Orleans was forgiven, as usual, and, as usual, was made to testify against his associates. Bouillon saved his life by surrendering up in exchange for it to France the principality of Sedan. This cession of Sedan and the capture of Perpignan, which fell in September, says

Michelet, "were the last present made by Richelieu to France."

Upon reaching Paris Richelieu's health failed steadily. By the end of November it became apparent to all, himself included, that his case was hopeless, and all the rites were performed which the Catholic faith required for the dying. During his last hours the King came to see him twice. Richelieu is said to have bidden his friends adieu with calmness and serenity. He appeared to regret no act of his life, and declared that all that he had done was undertaken for the benefit of the State and the Catholic faith. On the 4th of December, 1642, an abscess, which had long been advancing in the chest, broke, and in less than half an hour Richelieu expired.

No man was ever so cordially hated, nor by so many, as Richelieu, and no man ever stood so long on so slender a platform and so defiantly fought off his assailants. A single false step, or the accident of the King's death, would instantly have hurled him from his towering height, and only a miracle could have saved his life; yet he continued to the end to stand in this perilous position and to fight for himself and for France.

That Richelieu honestly believed that he was serving the best interests of his country—that his ambition was not purely personal—there is no reason to doubt. But history, seeking to render an impartial verdict, has declared that, while some of his acts were beneficial, on the whole his work did France a lasting injury. He found France in a state of anarchy; he introduced into it order and peace. But instead of simply checking the turbulent nobility and bringing them into a just subordination to the King, he aimed to destroy them by tak-

ing away their fortunes and thus reducing them in the end to the condition of dependants on the King's will. By taking away the privileges of the Parliament, where a wise statesman would have been content with reforming abuses, he took away from the people their means of defense against the arbitrary will of the sovereign. The wide gap between what Richelieu did for France and what, with his power, he might have done, may be seen in the subsequent history of France as contrasted with that of England.

PETER THE GREAT

1672-1725

THE CIVILIZING OF A NATION

Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, appears to us in a two-fold character—that of benefactor and that of tyrant. One historian says of him: "If I were called upon to name the man, who since Charlemagne, has rendered the greatest services to his country, I should select Peter the Great." He entered upon his inheritance when Russia was in a deplorable condition. At that time it was an inland country, more Asiatic than European, isolated from the rest of the world, hemmed in and surrounded by hostile nations, with no army nor navy, which could be relied upon, and with no access to the sea. The people were still semibarbarous, most of them isolated tribes, living among the snows and morasses and forests, utterly ignorant and with not the slightest knowledge of European arts.

After a troublesome reign he left the country improved as only a man of his ability and power could improve it. True it was but partially redeemed from barbarism, but he had made it a political power which foreign Nations had cause to fear, and he bequeathed to his successors a policy under which the country has been steadily improving from that time to ours. He left it with seaports on the Black Sea and the Baltic. With a large and well disciplined army instead of the Streltzi, one of the evils of ancient Russia, about which more will be said later.

That the genius and policy of Peter the Great has raised Russia to her present exalted position no one doubts.

The story of how he came to be ruler of Russia is both interesting and romantic. Peter's father was Alexis Michælwitz, whose reign extended from 1645 to 1675. Alexis Michælwitz was married twice. By his first wife he had two sons, Feodor and Ivan, and four daughters, one of whom, Sophia, played a very important part in Peter's life. By his second wife Alexis had only two children —a son and a daughter—Peter and Natalie. By the Russian law the Czar elected his successor, and naturally the eldest son was given the preference; after him the next son and so on. Thus it may be seen that between Peter and the Russian throne were really two lives. If he had lived in England there might have been more, but by the ancient laws and usages of the Muscovite monarchy women were excluded from the throne. Indeed, not only were the daughters themselves excluded, but great care was taken that they should have no sons to inherit the throne. They were forbidden to marry, and in order to make marriage impossible, before they arrived at a marriageable age, they were placed in a convent and forced to pass the rest of their lives in seclusion.

When Alexis Michælwitz died his son Feodor succeeded him. Feodor was sickly and lived only a short time. On his death-bed he designated Peter his successor, passing over his own brother Ivan, for the reason that Ivan was so feeble and infirm that he seemed wholly unfit to reign over such an Empire. In 1682 at the age of ten Peter became Czar of Russia.

His half-sister, Sophia, an ambitious and unscrupulous woman, who during Feodor's illness had obtained strong influence at court, and especially over the

Streltzi, was greatly displeased that Peter should have been chosen Czar. For she thought that her own brother Ivan, if he had succeeded, would have been unable to take any charge of the Government; but Peter she knew in a few years would be able to govern the Empire by himself and would probably be influenced by his branch of the family, who were hostile to her. Accordingly, she instigated the report that Feodor had been poisoned by friends of Peter who desired to make him Czar. So many people believed this that the small ruler's mother was forced to flee with him to a celebrated family retreat, the Monastery of the Trinity. As it was, both she and her child barely escaped with their lives. A compromise was now effected by which Ivan was proclaimed Czar, not to reign alone, but in conjunction with his brother Peter, and Sophia was appointed Regent.

When Peter was seventeen he began to show extraordinary ability and a strong will. For this reason, it is thought, Prince Galitzin, Chancellor at the time, and a very able statesman, with the aid of the Streltzi and the cabals of Sophia, plotted against his life. It is said that two of the imperial guards, when Galitzin was giving his orders to them, horrified at the thought of the crime they were called to commit, fled to Peter in the night and warned him of his danger. He again took refuge in the convent of the Mother of Trinity. On his way thither he passed the detachment of the Royal Guards despatched to kill him.

Sophia, when charged with her crime, denied it, but circumstances were too strong against her. The sympathy of all seemed to be with Peter, and even the Streltzi, her strongest adherents, deserted her. The Chancellor Galitzin fell with her. Peter banished him

to Siberia and confined his sister in a convent for the rest of her life, took up the reins of Government, young as he was, and ruled in conjunction with his brother Ivan.

Peter is one of the most precocious characters in history. At eighteen he was a man, with a man's stature and a man's mind, although his sister Sophia had done her best to weaken and enfeeble both. She had caused him to be surrounded by seductive pleasures. She had had him removed to a palace in a small village at a distance from Moscow, and had appointed fifty boys as his playmates and companions. They were placed under no constraint, but were allowed to indulge themselves in any way they might chose. Sophia thought that they would spend their time in such manner as to grow up idle, vicious, and worthless. In fact, she hoped that Peter would impair his health to such an extent by his indulgences as to be brought to an early grave.

Few boys surrounded by such temptations would have escaped the snare so adroitly laid for them; but Peter escaped it. Whether it was because of his own good sense, or because of the instruction and counsel of his former teacher, Menesius, or both combined, will never be known, but escape it he certainly did. In fact, he improved to the best of his ability the opportunities by which he was surrounded. He organized his playmates into a military company, and learned with them all the tactics and practiced all the discipline of a camp. As years went on Peter contrived to introduce higher and higher branches of military art into his school, and finally, as the boys grew older, established professors of the different branches. The result was that when he was called upon to leave the place, the institution had

PETER THE GREAT.

become a well-organized and well-disciplined military school, and continued to be so for a number of years.

It was greatly on account of the energy and ability shown in managing this school that so many of the nobles attached themselves to Peter's cause, and he was enabled to depose his sister Sophia and take up the reins of Government at the exceedingly early age that he did.

At the beginning of his reign the Government was really in the hands of his courtiers and nobles, but as he grew older and felt stronger in his position, he gradually assumed more of the duties of the Czar. He was fortunate in meeting two able men, who held under him positions of great trust and honor, and without whom he could not have carried out as he did his plans of development and progress. The name of the first of these men was Le Fort; that of the second, Menshikoff. It was through Le Fort, whom Peter met at a dinner at the house of the Danish embassador, that he learned of the superior military discipline of Germany and France and of the splendid mercantile power of England and Holland. Peter realized that on these two things would the greatness of his country depend. A strong army would make his throne secure; an efficient navy would protect his commerce—one of the great sources of National wealth.

He took a great liking to Le Fort, and transferred him to his own service. A regiment was organized, with Le Fort as Colonel, and drilled under a discipline similar to that of the Western nations. A change was also made in the uniform of the soldiers composing it. Peter was anxious to learn these new tactics, and having no false pride, he entered the regiment as a drummer and worked his way gradually from corporal to sergeant and so on through all the grades. From this small

beginning the whole imperial army was gradually reformed and improved under the compact and scientific military discipline of Western Europe.

Pleased with this improvement of his army, Peter now suggested to Le Fort that they should introduce, in the same way, the elements of the Western arts and industries—that they should bring from Holland, England, France, Germany, and other European Nations, artisans, and mechanics, whose superior methods and processes might be learned by the Russians. Le Fort replied that in order to do this it would be necessary to make several changes in the laws of the land, especially in the laws relating to the intercourse with other nations. The tariff on foreign goods must be lowered. Peter readily agreed to this. The change produced a two-fold result. First more foreign goods were imported. The people gradually came to live and dress better and to improve in their tastes, and Russian tradesmen were compelled to adopt Western methods in order to compete with Western trade. Secondly, the revenue of the country was increased. The tax on goods was less, but the importation was so much greater that the deficiency was more than made up. Peter took this money and with it supported the artisans and mechanics, who came in from other countries, until they were established in their trades.

Peter's ambition had also been fired by a trivial ocurrence to build a navy. One day, in walking through his pleasure grounds, he discovered by the side of a small stream, a boat possessing to him a new thing—a keel. His curiosity was aroused. Le Fort explained to him its use. Peter ordered the boat to be rigged and sailed on the River Moska. Then a yacht was built, manned by two men, and Peter frequently took the helm him-

self. This led to the building of five other vessels, which were sailed on Lake Peipus. Next a still larger vessel was procured, at Archangel, in which he sailed on the Northern ocean. Following his practice in the army, he first served as a common drudge on the vessel, gradually rising through the ranks, until he had mastered all the details of a sailor's life. In this way was stimulated his ambition to possess a navy and to secure seaports. He needed a fleet on the Volga to protect his lands from the Turks and the Tartars, and one on the Gulf of Finland to keep out the Swedes.

How was he to get the ports he desired? By war, and aggressive war at that. He first resolved to seize Azof, the chief city on the sea of that name. It belonged to the sultan of Turkey, who was then, not the "sick man of Europe," but a strong and powerful ruler. Peter knew he had no right to Azof; but he also knew it would be of immense advantage to Russia to possess it. So deterred by no scruples of right or wrong, he sailed down the River Don, with the ships he had built, and attacked the city. He was foiled in this first attempt, but not in the least daunted, he renewed the enterprise the next year and succeeded, his army being commanded by General Gordon, a Scotchman, while he himself served only as an ensign.

Peter's success at Azof greatly increased his interest in the building of his ships, and he determined to build a fleet to meet the Turks on the Black Sea. In order to do this he must have money. Never overscrupulous as to how he obtained what he wanted, he issued an order to the effect that besides the usual taxes, each noble should pay for the building of one ship. Many of the innovations made by the Czar had become very unpopular, and this forcing of contributions increased

the discontent, and resulted in a conspiracy to take his life. This, however, was detected and the plotters were severely punished.

Soon after this second attempt on the life of the Czar occurred his famous European tour. In 1697 he determined to see with his own eyes what arts and improvements of other Nations might be advantageously introduced into his Empire. In order that he might have more time in which to study these matters, and not be annoyed by the receptions, dinners, and parades which he knew would be given to the Czar of Russia, he decided to travel incognito, in the assumed character of a private person traveling in the train of an Embassy. Heretofore he had not been represented at any of the European courts. He now appointed an Embassy, at the head of which was Le Fort, and sent it to Holland, then the first mercantile State of Europe. On their way through Prussia these Ambassadors were fêted and banqueted to their heart's content. At Königsberg Peter left the Embassy to their revels, and went quickly and privately to Holland, where he hired a small room—kitchen and garret—and set to work as a journeyman carpenter, to learn the art of ship-building. Here he worked steadily for nine months, until he had mastered the principles of that industry. He learned also the Dutch language, and developed an unbounded curiosity and zeal to learn all which seemed desirable to know. Nothing new or strange escaped his eye. "What is dat?" was his constant query. He devoured every morsel of knowledge which fell in his way with unexampled voracity. "To see this barbaric monarch thus going to school," says our historian, "and working with his own hands, insensible to heat and cold and weariness, with the single aim of

benefiting his countrymen when he should return, is to me one of the most wonderful sights of history."

Peter's favorite companion in his journeys around Amsterdam was Menshikoff—the man who afterward became Prime Minister and Grand-Vizier of Russia, and furthered all of his sovereign's schemes with consummate ability. The ambitious Czar also made the acquaintance, in his wanderings, of several English ship carpenters. Through them he learned that the naval carpentry of their country had been reduced to a regular science, and with his characteristic eagerness he determined to see for himself. King William was much pleased when he heard of his intentions, and provided him with an English escort. In England, as in Holland, Peter showed the same curiosity and desire to know all there was to be known on all subjects. Still keeping up his character of private gentleman, although to a great extent it had become known who he was, he visited all sorts of places. Dock yards, theaters, Quaker meetings, palaces, all were alike taken in by this indefatigable monarch. He was surprised at the law courts of Westminster. "Why," said he, referring to the legal gentlemen in wigs and gowns, "I have but two lawyers in my dominion and one of them I mean to hang as soon as I return."

Peter found that, as he had been told, naval carpentry in England had been reduced to a science; the proportions of ships were determined by fixed principles, and they were built from drafts and models made by rule. Of course, Peter did not stay long enough in England to master fully this subject, but at every shipyard he studied it attentively, and he learned enough of the method to assist him greatly in introducing shipbuilding into his own country.

From England Peter went to Vienna, sending before him 500 persons whom he had taken into his employ—navy captains, surgeons, pilots, blacksmiths, and various other mechanics. He did not stay long in Vienna, whose military schools he had come to study, but hurried on to Moscow to suppress a rebellion.

The first thing he did on his return to Russia was to crush the Streltzi, who plotted against him and were hostile to reforms. After he had disbanded these rebellious soldiers, he changed the uniform of his entire army. He did away with the long skirts and the bushy beards. He was aided in this undertaking by Menshikoff. Peter also wished to make private citizens shave their beards, but such an outcry was raised against the arbitrary measure that he compromised; all who could afford to pay a tax which he imposed were allowed to wear beards. The clergy and the serfs were exempted from this tax. Peter likewise changed the calendar, making January the first of the year. He abolished the old law of marriages, in which the young people had no choice, and he decreed that a marriage should not take place unless the contracting parties had known each other six months. Numerous other reforms were made, intended to civilize his people and to make his power as Sovereign more efficient and compact.

The greatest oppositions to Peter's reforms came from the Church with the Patriarch at its head. He was not an enemy of this organization, but he determined to bring it more under his control. He decided to do this very cautiously. When the Patriarch then in office died, Peter refused to let the Bench of Bishops elect another, as was their custom. Instead he placed at the head of the Russian Church one of his own tried friends. This ecclesiastic was instructed to follow, as

nearly as possible, the footsteps of his predecessors, the former Patriarchs, so as not to disturb the Church by any apparent outward change, but he was to regard Peter as its head. This naturally caused a great disturbance among the clergy throughout the Empire, as soon as they understood what had been done; but they could do nothing against the autocratic Czar and were forced to submit. Peter also decreed universal toleration of religion except to the Jesuits, and caused the Bible to be translated into the Slavonic tongue and to be freely circulated among the people.

While Peter was making these reforms at home he was meditating military operations abroad. Something has been said of his eagerness to obtain seaports. He now desired one on the Baltic. This, together with Charles XII's wild desire to ape Alexander, brought on a war between Russia and Sweden. Peter took the aggressive. With 60,000 men he advanced on Sweden and met Charles at Narva with only 8,000 men. But Charles' troops were well trained and they had right on their side. Peter was disastrously defeated. He took his failure calmly, as he had done that of Azof, remarking "They have beaten us once, and they may beat us again; but they will teach us in time to beat them." The glorious victory of the Swedish soldiers turned Charles' head. He entered Poland, dethroned its King, invaded Saxony, and prepared to invade Russia with 80,000 men.

Peter now showed himself a wily General. Not having enough forces to offer battle to the Swedes, he gradually retreated before them, luring them further and further into the cold and dreary provinces, destroying everything in his retreat so as to leave nothing for the support of the Swedish army. At the approach of a severe winter Charles found himself in a freezing-cold

country, in the midst of enemies, his numbers dwindled to 25,000 men, and with no supplies, while Peter had 100,000 men and abundant resources. Still Charles would not give up the idea of marching on Moscow, to capture which he had invaded Russia. In order to obtain provisions he determined to besiege the town of Pultowa. This place was strongly fortified and well garrisoned. Charles advanced to the town, reconnoitered it on every side and began the siege. Menshikoff was at the head of the Russian forces nearest to the town. He advanced rapidly to the rescue. Then followed a series of skirmishes between the two armies. Menshikoff was on the whole the more successful. In July the Czar himself advanced on the Swedes with a large army. At the famous battle which followed Charles was ignominiously defeated. He could hardly collect a handful of followers with whom to flee into Turkey.

The battle of Pultowa is one of the famous battles of the world's history. Charles and Peter at the time it was fought were the greatest rulers and warriors of the day, and the long and bitter struggle between them had been watched by all Europe. Pultowa may be said to have decided the destinies of two Nations. Charles was hopelessly ruined and Peter was left free to take from him as much territory as he desired. The Czar of Russia was now able to open his seaports on the Baltic and to dig canals from river to river.

Peter had now conquered Sweden. Still another enemy remained—Turkey. The Sultan had long been desirous of getting back the territory which had been lost at the beginning of Peter's reign, and already had declared war. Peter, flushed with victory, advanced into Turkey with 40,000 men, and was led into a trap

similar to that in which he had caught and ruined Charles XII. He found himself in a hostile country, beyond the Pruth, between the Turks and Tartars, with a deep and rapid river in his rear. Two hundred thousand men attacked his 40,000. His army was almost annihilated. He could not advance, he could not retreat. In three days he lost 20,000 men. Driven to despair he shut himself up in his tent and refused to see anyone. He had a dread of being captured by the Turks, taken to Constantinople, and perhaps exhibited in a cage, as Bajazet had been.

At this critical period he was saved by Catherine, his wife. She suggested negotiations with the Turks. Collecting all her jewels and all the valuables she could find she sent them as a present to the Turkish General. This policy was successful. The war was brought to a close, though Peter lost Azof, and consequently was shut off from the Black Sea, and was also forced to withdraw from the vicinity of the Danube.

As early as 1702, during the Swedish War, Peter had fixed his eyes upon a morass, a delta, half under water, formed by the dividing branches of the Neva, as the site of his future capital. A poor place, one would say, for the capital of an Empire, but it was the only place available for opening a water communication with Europe, and he realized that before his country could become Europeanized it must have intercourse with European Nations. Here, as if by magic, St. Petersburg arose above the piles on the Neva, although, as one historian has said, "the hymn which solemnized the entrance into being of the new-born city was composed of the groans of 100,000 men, dying in agony, of want, misery, and despair." Here Peter the Great shows himself in the character of tyrant, caring nothing for the

lives of his workmen, so the city he desired was completed. Charles XII, when Peter was building St. Petersburg, was then in the flush of victory. It is said that he remarked when he heard of it, "It is all very well. He may amuse himself as he likes in building his city there, but by and by, when I am a little at leisure, I will go and take it away from him. Then if I like it, I will keep it; if not I will burn it down." This was before the battle of Pultowa. As we know Charles never carried out his threat and St. Petersburg still stands the capital of the Russians, a monument of Peter the Great's sagacity and tyranny.

In 1715 Peter decided to make another tour of Europe, this time accompanied by his wife. He was enthusiastically received and entertained at Paris, where he continued his study of the arts, sciences, and laws. From Paris he went to Berlin, where he was received with equal attention. Everywhere he commanded the respect due his station and abilities, although he was rough and uncouth in his ways. The one thing which marked him was his strength of character. He was plain, temperate, and straight-forward. Peter seems to have made a better impression than did his wife, who was fat, vulgar, and covered with jewels and crosses, although she was a very able women, and after Peter's death carried on his good work.

Catherine was not Peter's first wife. In his youth he had been married to Eudoxia, whom he had divorced, and by her had had one son, Alexis. This son, Alexis, was destined to become the hero of a most dreadful tragedy. He was as great a trial to Peter as Absalom was to David. He was weak, dissipated, and dissolute. He cared nothing for the reforms of his father, was in league with his enemies, and was totally

unfit to be the future Czar of Russia. Peter remonstrated with him again and again, but vainly. At last his patience being exhausted, there seemed to be nothing left to be done but to disinherit his worthless son, for he knew that if Alexis came to the throne his own life-work would have been wasted. Arbitrary as was Peter's action in disinheriting his son, he violated no positive custom, for as yet there existed no laws regarding the order of succession, and in view of his motive of promoting the welfare of Russia this act must be reckoned among his most commendable measures.

Then the question arose, What was to be done with his son? Should he confine him in a convent or shut him up in a State prison or make away with him? Any choice would be bad. If he shut him up the scheming priests and boyars might make him Czar after Peter's death and so undo all his good work. If he should make away with Alexis the curses of his enemies and the disapproval of all Europe would follow him as an unnatural father. He knew that his son had been conspiring with the Muscovite party—the party hostile to reforms—against him, so he decided to bring him to trial for high treason. The Court found Alexis guilty. Whether his father would have concurred in this decision or would have used his prerogative and have pardoned him will never be known. Alexis, probably overcome with fright and repentance, was suddenly taken with a fit of apoplexy, and died imploring his father's forgiveness. This tragedy has always been regarded as a great stain on Peter's reign. He can, indeed, hardly be acquitted of the charge of unfatherly severity. Yet his position was undeniably a trying and difficult one. Fathers who have had the experience of dissolute

and prodigal sons will be disposed to judge him leniently.

After the death of Alexis Peter fixed his hopes upon a second son, Peter Petrowitz, who had been borne him by Catherine. Again he was to be disappointed. A year after the tragic death of Alexis, Peter Petrowitz, who had never been very strong, died. This second bereavement completely prostrated the Czar. So deeply did he mourn for his son that he was seized with convulsions, to which he was subject when under any strong excitement. His face was distorted and his neck twisted in a most frightful manner. Even Catherine, who heretofore had been able to manage him in his attacks, could do nothing with him, her presence seemed only to recall to him his grief. Finally, one of his Ministers of State, after Peter had shut himself in his room for three days and three nights, refusing to see any one, spoke to him through the door and besought him to come out, saying there were several matters of State which needed his attention. Peter at last consented to have the door opened. His mind was diverted from his trouble and he suffered himself to be lead forth and to be given food.

Until the end of his reign Peter went on to complete the reforms he had undertaken in the internal condition of his Empire and sought in every way to strengthen his power and influence among foreign Nations. His only apprehension seems to have been that after his death the work he had begun would not be continued. He looked about anxiously for a successor, and at last determined to leave the throne to his wife, Catherine. In order to secure her ascension to the throne he determined to have her crowned during his life-time. He sent out printed forms to all parts of the country, asking

that a solemn oath be given by all to acknowledge the right of the Czar to name his successor, and to support and adhere to anything this successor might do. He did not mention his intentions of electing Catherine. His people readily signed the paper.

The first step taken toward making public his intentions was the issue of a proclamation telling of his design and the reasons for it. He gave many instances in history where great rulers had raised their wives to reign with them. He spoke of Catherine's many services to him and to the State, calling her his "tried and trusted friend." He recalled to his people's mind her saving of his army at the time of the war with the Turks, in which he was so sore beset. Finally, in the year 1724, at Moscow, Catherine was declared Empress of Russia. This ceremony was not a mere empty proceeding. Legal steps were taken to transfer the supreme power into her hands at the death of the Czar. None too soon; for in less than a year after that time Peter died, on the 28th of January, 1725.

There is little to be added concerning the character of Peter, justly styled the Great. That he was tyrannical, was plainly not due so much to a lust of power as to the necessity of enforcing his measures, if he would accomplish the great work which he had projected. That he was coarse in his tastes and uncouth in his manners can hardly be urged against him as a fault, in view of the circumstances of his early life. His detractors have refused to see in his actions any higher motive than a personal ambition to make for himself a place and a name among the sovereigns of Europe; but the charge is ill supported by a careful study of all the details of his policy. But whatever may have been the controlling motive of Peter, no one disputes the fact that he laid the foundation of the greatness of the Russian Empire.

LORD BEACONSFIELD

1804-1881

"TO THE STRONG NOTHING IS DIFFICULT"

The historian Froude, speaking of Lord Beaconsfield, says: "For forty years he was in the front of all the battles which were fought in the House of Commons, in opposition or in office, in adversity or in success, in conflict and competition with the most famous debaters of the age. In the teeth of prejudice, without support save his own force of character, without the advantage of being the representative of any popular cause which appealed to the imagination, he fought his way until the consent of Parliament and country raised him to the Premiership." Mr. Froude adds, "Extraordinary qualities of some kind he must have possessed."

It is the aim of this short sketch of the life of the Premier to bring into relief these extraordinary qualities, without descending too minutely into the details of his long and eventful career, both as a littérateur and as a politician.

Benjamin Disraeli was a descendant of one of those Jewish families compelled by the Spanish Inquisition to leave the Peninsula toward the close of the Fifteenth Century. The family settled in Venice, where it dropped its Spanish name—Lara, apparently—and became known simply as D'Israeli, or Sons of Israel. Here they throve and made money for 200 years. About the middle of the last Century a scion of the family, Benjamin D'Israeli went to England, where he took root and prospered as a finan-

cier. His son Isaac, preferred the pursuit of literature to that of business, and became the author of several works, of which the best known is his "Curiosities of Literature."

Isaac Disraeli was the father of the subject of this sketch, who was born in London, December 21, 1804. The child was received into the Jewish church with the usual rites. Subsequently Isaac Disraeli, who was a "free-thinker," severed his connection with the Jews; and Benjamin, on the advice, it is said, of Samuel Rogers, received the rite of Christian baptism, at the age of thirteen.

The strong prejudice which at that time existed against the Jews, rendered it undesirable that Benjamin should enter either Eton or a University; accordingly the education problem was solved by sending him to a private school in the neighborhood of London. Here he received his only schooling; but a good part of his education, which was purely literary, and not at all scientific, must have been gathered in his father's extensive library.

Upon leaving school at the age of seventeen Benjamin entered a lawyer's office, upon the advice of his father, not, apparently, of his own inclination. His tastes, like his father's, were literary. He was conscious, too, of a power within him and he was ambitious as well. He was determined to make for himself a name. By the time he was twenty-one he had written and published his first book—"Vivian Grey."

His first venture was successful. "Vivian" was the book of the season. Everyone asked everyone else, "Have you read it?" The scene was laid in Scandinavia. But it was recognized at once that the characters were English and were living. Numerous "keys" were published. Vivian Grey was the writer himself.

Vivian is the son of a distinguished author, lively, talented, irresistibly attractive, and engrossed from boy-

hood with the idea of making a career for himself. In society he is petted and patronized by a dozen women of fashion; but the apparently frivolous boy is an obstinate and indefatigable student, and when he has devoured a mass of historical reading, he takes to the study of politics. His first political reflection is simply this—How many great nobles only want brains to become ministers, and what does Vivian Grey want in order to become one? Nothing but the influence of such a noble. So Vivian Grey finds his nobleman and takes up politics, and for a time wins success; nor is he over-scrupulous in his choice of means. But disaster comes upon him and he finally decides that the best thing for him to do is to leave the country.

No one could mistake the personality of Vivian, and there was no false modesty displayed in the delineation of the character. The book is, furthermore, virtually a publication of the writer's own aspirations. "Vivian Grey" was followed by the "Young Duke," a flashy picture of high society, and by two short satirical pieces, "Ixion in Heaven," and "Popanilla," a burlesque on the English Constitution.

Disraeli now spent a year in traveling, visiting Spain, the old home of his family, Malta, Greece, and continuing the journey by way of the coast of Asia Minor, to Jerusalem—the real objective point of the journey—and lastly to Egypt.

Upon his return, in 1831, he wrote a new story, "Contarini Fleming"—giving a second portrait of himself, presenting his poetic aspirations and introducing his travels, much as Byron had done in Childe Harold. The book, though less flatteringly received than "Vivian Grey," still added to his reputation. But less fortunate was his "Revolutionary Epic," conceived on the plain of Troy,

and having for its theme the French Revolution. Fifty copies only of the first cantos were published, as an experiment—and friends dissuaded him from continuing the work.

Disraeli had now the *entrée* to the best literary society of London. At Bulwer's home he was introduced to Count d'Orsay, Lady Morgan, Mrs. Norton, Mrs. Gore, and other notables. Lady Blessington welcomed him at Kensington. Flying higher he made acquaintance with Lord Mulgrave, Lord William Lennox and Tom Moore. He formed also acquaintances which were less advantageous to him. Although he himself never gambled nor gave way to dissipation of any sort, his habits of life were expensive; gradually he became involved in debt, having borrowed, not only for himself, but for his impecunious friends. He was at one time on the verge of ruin from this cause, and he continued to be embarrassed by debt for years. His election expenses were always heavy; but he was always sanguine of the future and finally he recovered himself by marrying wealth.

Disraeli's inordinate passion for attracting attention displayed itself, among other ways, in extravagant foppishness of dress. N. P. Willis met him at a party at Lady Blessington's. "He was sitting at a window looking on Hyde Park, the last rays of sunlight reflected from the gorgeous gold flowers of a splendid embroidered waistcoat. Patent leather pumps, a white stick with a black cord and tassel, and a quantity of chains about his neck and pockets, served to make him a conspicuous object. He has one of the most remarkable faces I ever saw. He is lividly pale, and but for the energy of his action and the strength of his lungs would seem to be a victim of consumption. His eye is black as Erebus, and has the most mocking, lying-in-wait expression conceivable. . . .

His hair is as extraordinary as his taste in waistcoats. A thick heavy mass of jet black ringlets falls on his left cheek almost to his collarless stock, which on the right temple is parted and put away with the smooth carefulness of a girl."

In 1832 Disraeli offered himself as a candidate to the electors of High Wycombe, a borough near which his father now resided, having removed from London. He at this time called himself a Radical in politics—yet an independent Radical. He detested the Whigs, the party of the middle classes, had some sympathies with the Tories, but the stress of his canvass was on need of reform to relieve the wretchedness of the lowest classes. Bulwer, who worked hard for him, procured him letters from O'Connell, Burdett, and Hume, and these letters were placarded conspicuously in the Wycombe marketplace. The Government considered the danger of his election so imminent that the son of Lord Grey was brought out as an opposing candidate. Disraeli made a good fight. In the first place he made a gorgeous display of himself, entering Wycombe in an open carriage and four, dressed with his usual extravagance—laced shirt, coat with pink lining, and a stunning cane; and in the next place he made a speech which won the admiration of Colonel Grey himself. But in spite of all he was defeated.

Two months after this election Parliament was dissolved (August 16, 1832), and he presented himself again to this constituency. He invited them to "make an end of the factious slang of Whig and Tory," and to "unite in forming a great national party." He declared that he wore the badge of no party and the livery of no faction, that he sought their votes "as an independent neighbor," and he pledged himself to withhold his support from every Ministry which would not "originate some great measure to ameliorate the condition of the lower orders." Lord

Lyndhurst and the Duke of Wellington had now become interested in Disraeli, and exerted their influence in his behalf. But the powers against him were too strong and he was again defeated.

But never mind. He has determined to have a seat in Parliament and have one he will; yet two other defeats await him—one at Wycombe and one at Taunton—before he wins a victory at last, in 1837. In the meantime, apart from his electioneering speech-making, he has not been idle; he has kept his name before the public by political essays; and he has published besides two works of fiction, "Venetia," and "Henrietta Temple." In these five years, too, he has found it advisable to change his political tactics. He has realized the impossibility of winning as an independent, and has joined the party of Peel. Furthermore, he has had a tilt with O'Connell. He had spoken in one of his speeches of the Whigs as "grasping his bloody hand," referring to massacres in Ireland, and O'Connell, remembering the service he had rendered the young aspirant for political honors, took him to task for the insult in a violent speech at Dublin, in which he taunted Disraeli with his Jewish extraction, and intimated a probability that he was descended from "the blasphemous thief that died upon the cross." Disraeli, having sought without success to draw O'Connell's son into a duel over the matter, addressed a pungent letter to O'Connell through the "Times." He expected, he said in conclusion, yet to become a representative of the people. "We shall meet at Philippi." The incident made no little talk at the time, and was helpful to Disraeli by keeping up the public interest in him.

On the death of William IV, in the summer of 1837, Parliament was dissolved. Disraeli was elected, as a Tory, for Maidstone, and at the age of thirty-three entered

the House of Commons, of which he was henceforth to remain a member until removed to the House of Lords.

Disraeli was welcomed by Peel "very warmly," was invited by him "to join a swell dinner at the Carlton," and was otherwise treated flatteringly. He kept his mouth closed in the House for three weeks, and then made, or attempted to make his maiden speech. The scene has often been described. The speech was a failure, not because Disraeli lacked confidence—he had no lack of that—but partly because his ridiculous dress excited merriment —a bottle-green frock coat, a white waistcoat, no collar, and a needless display of gold chain—but more particularly because O'Connell and his party had determined that it should be a failure. O'Connell seated himself in front of the speaker and looked him leeringly squarely in the face. Every sentence he uttered was received with laughter and jeers. In vain his own friends, Peel among them, applauded. He was fairly howled down. But before taking his seat he shouted in tones which startled even the noisy rabble, "I will sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me." And, in fact, he was not again interrupted; but this was probably in part due to his accepting the advice of a friend—"Get rid of your genius for a season; speak often, but shortly, and to the point."

Disraeli had entered Parliament as a friend of the Peel Ministry. He had, however, his own views, particularly on the subject of the condition of the poor in England and Ireland, and he declined to be in all cases a servile follower of Peel. His independent course is the more noteworthy because he might reasonably have expected to be given an office under the Ministry had he been more subservient, and his financial embarrassments were such at this time that an office seemed to be a condition necessary to his

continuance in Parliament. In 1839 his differences with Peel nearly reached the point of actual rupture of their friendly relations. The occasion was the famous presentation of the Chartist petition—a petition from the laboring classes of England imploring legislature in their behalf, and which was signed by hundreds of thousands of names, and was so bulky that it was brought to Westminster in a triumphal car constructed especially for the purpose.

By the great majority of the House the petition was received with scoffs and jeers; but Disraeli dared to speak in behalf of the oppressed laboring man. The rejection of the petition led to riots. Disraeli was one of a minority of five who dared to say that the increase of the police force for which Lord John Russell had appealed was unnecessary. For this he was rebuked by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in his reply he did not hesitate to direct a shaft at the chief himself. All hope of obtaining office under Peel was at an end. But, fortunately, just at this time, when it seemed almost inevitable that he must retire from Parliament because of his straitened finances, fortune favored him in the same way as she had favored many of the heroes of his romances. He married—money.

Mr. Wyndham Lewis, his colleague for Maidstone, and his highly esteemed friend, who, in fact, had been the means of his election, died. His widow, the "clever rattling flirt," as he had described her on their first acquaintance, after a year's mourning, became Disraeli's wife. Mr. Froude thus speaks of her: "She was childless. She was left the sole possessor of a house at Grosvenor Gate, and a life income of several thousand a year. She was not beautiful. Disraeli was thirty-five and she was approaching fifty. But she was a heroine if ever woman

deserved the name. She devoted herself to Disraeli with a completeness which left no room in her mind for any other thought. As to him, he had said that he would never marry for love. But if love, in the common sense of the word, did not exist between these two, there was an affection which stood the trial of thirty years, and deepened as they both declined into age. . . . The hours spent with his wife in retirement were the happiest he ever knew. In defeat or victory he hurried home from the House of Commons to share his vexations or his triumphs with his companion, who never believed that he could fail. The moment of his whole life which, perhaps, gave him the greatest delight was that at which he was able to decorate his wife with a peerage."*

At the general election of 1841 Sir Robert Peel was again borne into power. A period of five years in Disraeli's Parliamentary life now ensued of which it is impossible to give a very clear account in a short space; yet something must be said. England at this time was in the throes of a great political crisis. There was distress among the poor on all sides, and the Government was looked to for relief. Wages were low; food was high. What was to be done, was a question on which political parties divided. Disraeli had studied as profoundly as was possible for a man of his highly imaginative bent of mind this vast political problem, and he had reached his own conclusions as to the source of England's evils. Succinctly stated, it was the fact that England had broken away from her traditionary habits. Both her aristocracy and her peasantry had degenerated; the English lord was no longer the kind and generous protector of his tenantry, and the tenant had good reason for no longer looking up to the nobleman with affectionate regard as had his fore-

*Life of Lord Beaconsfield.

fathers. And more than this, there had arisen a great middle class founded upon an entirely new interest—the manufacturing interest. What was to be done? Reform the aristocracy and bring back the people to their first love.

Disraeli found disciples for this new political creed in a coterie of young noblemen in Parliament, fresh from Oxford, who formed themselves into an association which they styled "Young England," and which they fondly hoped might become the nucleus of a new national party, that would supplant both Whigs and Tories. It was for "Young England" that he now wrote "Coningsby" and "Sybil"—both political novels. In the former he expounded his views on the various causes of England's degeneracy; the latter was designed mainly to present the striking—the terrible contrast between the conditions of the rich and the poor. Holding such convictions—which have here been barely more than hinted at—Disraeli opposed every measure of reform which did not seem to him to go to the very root of the matter, and this root was in the decline of England's national character. Impossible it is here to present fully his views of reform. But enough has been said to indicate that at this period of his life Disraeli was a theoretical rather than a practical statesman, with his head full of ideas impossible of realization.

The election which had put Peel into office was a victory of the Protectionists over the Free Traders. Peel himself was an avowed Protectionist; but soon after his accession to office he began to show Free Trade proclivities, and finally came out squarely for the repeal of the Corn Laws, to the disgust of his party. He was opposed now openly and bitterly by Disraeli, who had gradually been shaking off allegiance to him. The Bill repealing the Corn Laws was passed (in 1846). In fact the Irish famine seemed to render its passage an absolute necessity;

still, the Tories were offended that their own chief had taken the leading part in the drama, and they determined on revenge. A few days later Peel was defeated on a coercion Bill for Ireland, and resigned office.

The nominal leader in the attack upon Peel had been Lord George Bentinck; but the forces had really been marshaled by Disraeli, and to him now fell the task of building together the shattered ruins of the Conservative party. Very unwillingly they submitted to the unwelcome necessity. They had no love for Disraeli. He was looked upon as an un-English adventurer; he had never sued for their favors; he had spoken and voted as he pleased, whether they liked it or not; he had advocated in spite of them the admission of the Jews into Parliament. But he had championed the cause of the Tory party when their trained leaders had deserted them, and had won their applause. Lord George remained a year or two the nominal chief; but Lord George died, and Disraeli became the acknowledged leader of the opposition.

For the next twenty-five years Disraeli held this position in the House of Commons, varied with brief intervals of power. He was three times Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Derby—in 1852, in 1858-9, and again in 1867—but he was in office owing rather to the Liberal dissensions than to recovered strength on his own side. Being in a minority, he was unable to initiate any policy; nor if the opportunity had been offered would he have attempted to reverse the commercial policy of Peel. He accepted the decision upon this point as final. More than this, what Cobden had prophesied for Free Trade came to pass. Science and skill came to the support of enterprise, and England entered upon a glorious era of commercial prosperity.

As an opposition leader Disraeli was never willfully

obstructive, and while dexterous as a party chief, he conducted himself always with dignity and fairness. Any proposal which he considered good he helped forward with earnestness and ability—proposals for shortening the hours of labor, for the protection of children in factories, for the improvement of the dwelling houses of the poor. Among foreign events which occurred within this long period was the Crimean War. Disraeli strove earnestly to prevent this war, which every Englishman now admits to have been wholly unnecessary, and a disgrace to England; but when once the war had broken out, he gave the Government his most cordial support. For his attitude during our own Civil War we have cause to be grateful to him. It was beyond question mainly the efforts of Disraeli which prevented England from accepting the proposal of Napoleon to recognize the belligerency of the Confederate States.

During this period Disraeli had abundant leisure for literary work. It was at this time that he wrote "Tancred" and "Life of Lord George Bentinck"—the former a novel, written while he was still under the illusion that the English aristocracy might be regenerated, and forming a sort of sequel to "Coningsby" and "Sybil"; the latter, interesting as setting forth his own peculiar views of Christianity.

In 1867 Lord John Russell's Reform Bill was defeated. The Whig Ministry fell and Lord Derby came a third time to the helm with Disraeli as his Chancellor of the Exchequer. And now an astonishing thing happened. Disraeli introduced and carried a Reform Bill far more sweeping than any that had before been attempted—a bill which carried with it household suffrage. He did the very thing for which twenty years before he had fought and defeated Peel for doing. He had said in one of his

speeches on that occasion that Peel "had caught the Whigs bathing and had carried off their clothes," and now he repeated the exploit—and kept the clothes. The Liberals were beaten with their own ammunition.

In February, 1868, an event occurred which was destined to realize Disraeli's wildest youthful dreams. Lord Derby retired from public life, warmly recommending the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Queen as his only possible successor, and Disraeli became Prime Minister. Little as he was liked in many quarters, there was a general feeling in the country that he had honorably won the distinction now accorded him by his rare capabilities and persistent hard work for many years; and when he walked for the first time in his new honors from Downing Street to the House of Commons, he was greeted with enthusiastic applause, both on the way and in the lobby of the House. But he was destined to wear his new honors but for a short time. Gladstone brought forward his famous resolution for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and carried it against the Government. At the dissolution he was rewarded with a majority so sweeping that Disraeli, without waiting for the meeting of Parliament, resigned his office and was succeeded by Gladstone. The Queen now offered Disraeli a peerage. He declined the honor for himself, but accepted it for his wife, who now became Viscountess Beaconsfield.

Disraeli had again leisure for literary work, and produced "Lothair," a portrayal of the contemporary aristocracy of England, a book of which Mr. Froude remarks: "The student of English history in time to come who would know what the nobles of England were like in the days of Queen Victoria, will read 'Lothair' with the same interest with which they read Horace and Juvenal."

After Mr. Gladstone's energetic measures in behalf of Ireland, came a Conservative reaction.

In 1874 Mr. Disraeli again became Prime Minister. He had now behind him a strong majority, and for the first time he really had power. He could do what he pleased. He could dictate the foreign and colonial policy. He was master of the fleet and the army. He was virtually Sovereign of England so long as his party was true to him. Mr. Gladstone, for so many years his great rival, had retired from the leadership of the Liberal party, leaving Lord Hartington to direct it, so that the new Minister had no strong opposition to embarrass him. Let us see what he did.

Disraeli was an imperialist, in the sense that he thought England the greatest Nation of the world, and desired to keep her so. England's prestige abroad had suffered sadly from the irresolution of his predecessors. Lord John Russell, for example, had met a rebuff from Bismarck when he attempted to interfere in the affair of the Polish insurrection, and again when he protested against Russia's violation of the Treaty of Paris, at the time of the overthrow of Napoleon. The ties which bound England's colonies to the mother country had been weakened by the granting of constitutions which rendered them all but independent. Disraeli proposed to change all this, as far as possible. There was little to be done in the case of the colonies, but he could at least render England respected abroad; he could consolidate and even extend her Empire. And this is what he sought to do. England bristled up to Russia, and for a time the war fever ran high in England. It really seemed as if a war was inevitable between these two great powers, who had undertaken between them the civilization of Asia—a war from which

England could gain but little were she victorious, and which, in the case of her defeat, would cost her her Indian possessions. There was a war of conquest inaugurated in South Africa. Egypt was occupied by British troops. There was a war in Abyssinia.

In 1877 Russia declared war against Turkey in behalf of Bulgaria. The old ally of England was in danger; the Dardanelles, the "Key of India," might be lost, and Disraeli was in favor of helping the "sick man," as in 1854. But now Mr. Gladstone came forth from his retirement. He forced the country to observe what Turkish rule meant, and he compelled Disraeli to keep his hands off. Still, when the Peace of San Stefano was signed, Disraeli insisted that it should not be accepted by Europe until revised by the Powers. The Conference for this purpose met at Berlin, and thither went Disraeli, now Lord Beaconsfield, to look after England's interests in person. The Conference was presided over by Bismarck. It was not a harmonious affair. Beaconsfield became stubborn. He broke up the Conference and announced that he should return home and take other measures. And now Bismarck, "the Peacemaker," interposed with his good offices. Russia consented to yield a point or two of no great substantial significance. Beaconsfield had the glory of extorting a concession by a menace, and returned to England in triumph. This was the climax of his career. All England sang the praises of her patriot Minister. One might have thought that the Eastern Question was settled for all time; but alas, this question still remains to plague Europe.

One graceful thing which Beaconsfield did during his *régime* as Prime Minister must not be overlooked. He offered Carlyle, not a peerage, for a hereditary honor would be a mockery to a childless old man, but the Grand Cross of the Bath, with a life income correspond-

ing to such a rank. Carlyle declined; but he was sensible of the compliment, and was touched at the quarter from which it came, for of all Disraeli's haters the most cordial and sarcastic had been Carlyle.

The result of the election of 1880 was against Beaconsfield, and he accepted his fate, as on a former occasion, without waiting for a meeting of Parliament. He was succeeded in office by Mr. Gladstone. He now took his place as leader of the opposition in the House of Lords, showing no signs of weakened powers.

Some thirty years before this time Disraeli had purchased, with his share of his father's estate, a manor at Hughenden, near his old home, and to this it was now his chief pleasure to retire, with or without companions, more often alone. For a fortnight together he would remain there in solitude—he had now been a widower for nine years—wandering through the park or through the woods, which in his youth had been the scene of so many ambitious or moody meditations. He took a special pleasure at these times in visiting his tenants, looking after their comfort, and seeing that there were "no dust-heaps, nor cesspools, nor choked drains, nor damp floors" among the Hughenden tenements. He was on pleasant terms with everyone about the place, and was especially kind to old people and to children. In the quiet of this retreat he now finished "Endymion," which had been half completed when he took office in 1874.

Beaconsfield was still, apparently, in the enjoyment of excellent health. But his end was drawing near. He was at his place at the opening of the session of 1881, and addressed the House with much of his old-time vigor. In the middle of March he had an attack of gout, which was aggravated by a cold. At first no danger was apprehended, but he grew worse day after day, and on the 19th

of April Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, took his final departure from the scene where he had so long shone with so much brilliancy. That there was genuine sincerity in the eulogiums which followed, both in Parliament and in the press, there can be no question. His name had become a household word. He had even come to be nicknamed "Dizzy," an excellent sign of his popularity. The whole English Nation, without regard to politics, felt that a man was gone whose place was not easily to be filled, and that the honors which had come to him as the fruit of years of toil had been fairly won. A place was offered in the Abbey, and a public funeral; but his desire had been to be buried at Hughenden. There he now rests by the side of his devoted wife.

What estimate should be placed upon Disraeli? Very nearly the same estimate which we place upon a man who, having begun life as a penniless boy, has by indomitable perseverance and energy, by shrewdness and a close attention to business, become the possessor of millions. Such a man we call a successful man, but we never think of him as a great man. We may admire him, esteem him, if his integrity is above reproach; we may recognize in him a man of marked and exceptional abilities; but we reserve the title of greatness for those who have not merely won great personal triumphs, but who have also in some way left their impress upon the age in which they lived. Disraeli's ambition was not for wealth, but for fame. For money he cared little, except as it was necessary for furthering his political aspirations. He had abundant opportunities of enriching himself, had he been unprincipled enough to use them; yet even his worst enemy never charged him with the possession of a single penny which he had not come by honestly. At the very outset of his career he declared his aim in life under the thin disguise of

"Vivian Grey." His ambition, wild as it then seemed to be, was avowed with a clearness that could not be mistaken. It was nothing less than to become Prime Minister of England; and despite the obstacles which beset his path, he reached the goal of his ambition. A successful man he was, and deservingly successful. *"Forti Nihil Difficile"* (To the Strong Nothing is Difficult), was the motto of his coat of arms, exemplified in his own character.

But how will the historian judge Disraeli? A brilliant man, a strong man, he undoubtedly was; but judged from the impress which he left upon English history, he was hardly a great man. Not one of the great measures which he once insisted on did he carry or attempt to carry. And of the work to which he addressed himself, when finally he had the power, very little that was accomplished now remains. He seemed, indeed, at the time to have achieved great triumphs of diplomacy, but what has become of them? Of all these achievements there remain only to his Nation the Suez Canal shares and the possession of Cyprus, and to his Queen the gaudy title of Empress of India. All else that Beaconsfield did for England has either been undone or forgotten.

GLADSTONE

1809-1898

ENGLAND'S GREATEST REFORMER

William Ewart Gladstone was born at Liverpool on the 29th of December, 1809. He was of Scotch parentage. His father, John Gladstone, had come from Scotland to Liverpool on business when a young man, had attracted the favorable notice of one of the leading corn merchants of that city, had entered the commercial house of his patron as a clerk, and lived to become one of the merchant princes of Liverpool, a member of Parliament and a baronet. John Gladstone was a man of marked abilities and of strong Scottish characteristics—a man of indomitable energy, of absolute self-reliance, stern, imperious, one of those men, in short, who command the respect of all with whom they come in contact. He married Anne, daughter of Andrew Robertson, a Scotch highlander. John and Anne Gladstone had six children, of whom William Ewart was the fourth son.

Young William Gladstone began his education at the vicarage of Seabright, near Liverpool. From there he was sent, at the age of eleven, to Eton, where he soon became known as a diligent student, who cared little for the ordinary schoolboy sports and games. He was untiring at Latin and occupied his holiday time in studying mathematics. He was noted, too, for his unostentatious piety; he would neither join in nor countenance any mockery or levity about things which he had been taught to regard as sacred. Yet there was nothing of the "prig"

about him, and his force of character even then was such that he compelled the most light minded to respect him and his ways.

Gladstone remained at Eton until the end of 1827. He then studied for a few months with private tutors, and in October, 1828, went to Christ Church College, Oxford. During his career at Oxford as an undergraduate he was a hard student and led a very temperate life. He did not object to a supper or a wine party, but he was distinctly abstemious in the use of wine. He took a leading part in the Union Debating Society, of which he first became Secretary and afterward President. Gladstone quickly made his mark as one of the ablest debaters in this society. At that time he was in politics a Tory; yet his Toryism was not altogether illiberal. In the debates of the Society he defended Catholic emancipation, then a current political topic, though he opposed the removal of Jewish disabilities. He argued against the immediate abolition of slavery, yet urged that every preparation should be made for its gradual extinction, by educating and training the slaves to fit them for citizenship. While devoting much time to the Oxford Union, he was studying hard for classical honors. At this time, too, by way of exercise, he devoted a certain amount of his time to boating, and to what we now call athletic training. In December, 1831, Gladstone graduated with the highest honors, taking a "double first class."

Gladstone left Oxford early in 1832, and made a trip to Italy, whence he was recalled, after a short stay, to enter on a political and Parliamentary career. England was at this time in a state of unusual excitement politically. Members of Parliament were to be chosen under the new Reform Bill of 1832. That bill had given for the first time to the great middle classes and the great middle class cities and towns of England the right of suffrage and the

right to a representation in Parliament. It had abolished many of the old "rotten boroughs," as they were called, and the "pocket-boroughs"—boroughs which consisted wholly or mainly of the domains of great lords, who had been accustomed to send men of their own selection to represent them in Parliament.

Among those who were hit hard by this Reform Bill, was the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke cast about him for some man capable of representing the Tory interest of his borough. On the recommendation of his son, Lord Lincoln, who had been a school and college friend of Gladstone, the Duke invited him to return from Italy and to stand for the borough of Newark. The contest in the borough was fought stubbornly and with great bitterness, and the two Tory candidates were elected. Mr. Gladstone's name being at the head of the poll. The Parliament met on January 20, 1833, and Mr. Gladstone took his seat in that chamber over which he was destined to maintain for so long an almost absolute ascendency. He was then twenty-two years of age.

The House of Commons in which Mr. Gladstone made his first appearance contained more than three hundred new members. The Whigs, led by Lord Althorp, had a large majority; but there was a compact minority of Tories, ranged under the leadership of Sir Robert Peel, and a body of Irish members, who followed O'Connell and might be reckoned as hostile to the ministry.

The subjects which were uppermost in the public mind were the social condition of Ireland and the position of the Established Church in that island, the discontent and misery of the poor in England, and slavery in the British colonies. It was in the course of a debate on a series of Resolutions in favor of the extinction of slavery in the colonies that Mr. Gladstone made his maiden speech. The

occasion was given him by what seemed almost a personal challenge. Lord Howick had attacked the management of Sir John Gladstone's plantation in Demerara. Mr. Gladstone warmly vindicated his father from any charge of countenancing hard dealing with the slaves on his plantation, and declared that they were the happiest, healthiest and most contented of their race. The general subject of slavery, he did not touch on this occasion; but two or three weeks later he made a second speech on the slavery question, in which he expressed the views he had maintained at Oxford, that the emancipation of the slaves before they had been gradually prepared for freedom would be unwise.

A Coercion Bill was passed at this session of Parliament designed to remedy the deplorable condition of Ireland, where violence and crime were rampant. The bill received Mr. Gladstone's silent vote. In connection with this bill another was introduced providing for the regulation of the Established Church in Ireland—reducing the number of its Bishops from twelve to two. The incomes of some of the richer sees were curtailed, and the surplus thus arising was to be applied to purposes of the State. Mr. Gladstone spoke against the bill, which, however, passed after having been stripped of its appropriation clause. He also spoke against a "Universities Admission Bill," the design of which was to enable Non-conformists to enter the universities, by removing the necessity of subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles.

Mr. Gladstone seems, without winning any brilliant success, to have made a very favorable impression upon the House in this first session. He never rose to speak unless he had something to say, never thrust himself forward for the mere sake of making a speech. Thus from the first he assured himself of the ear of the House. Every-

body knew that he would not get up for the sake of talking, and that when he had said all that he wanted to say he would sit down.

The Reform Bill, which had put the Whigs into office, had raised in the country expectations which were doomed to disappointment. The Millennium did not come. One of the results was that the Whigs went out of office for a time. The Ministry was dismissed by the King, William IV. Sir Robert Peel accepted office, and made Mr. Gladstone a Junior Lord of the Treasury. Not long afterward he was promoted to be Under Secretary for the Colonies —a position of responsibility, since he had to answer all questions put to the Colonial Office and to make every exposition of its policy. The Peel Ministry in its turn fell, and Gladstone's short term of office ended.

Mr. Gladstone, having now an interval of rest, went much into society, "dined out constantly, and took his part in musical parties, delighting his hearers with the cultivated beauty of his tenor voice." He did not, however, neglect his duties as a private member of the House. Nor did he neglect his books, Homer and Dante being his favorite authors.

Before the close of the year (1837), occurred the death of King William IV and the accession of Victoria. This event necessitated the dissolution of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone again presented himself as a candidate for Newark, and was reëlected.

In 1838 was published Mr. Gladstone's first book, "The State in Its Relations with the Church." The book made a great sensation at the time, though it has little interest now. Mr. Gladstone's main contention was that every State must have a conscience, and must, like every person, have a professed religion. Nor was he disturbed by the fact that in Ireland, a Catholic country, the Established

Church was Protestant. "A common faith," he says, "binds the Irish Protestants to ourselves, while they, on the other hand, are closely linked to Ireland, and thus supply the most natural bond of connection between the two countries." The interest in the book was not lessened by the attack made upon it by Macaulay.

In 1839, Mr. Gladstone's eyesight having become impaired by too close application to study, he was advised by his physician to take a complete rest, and he decided to spend the winter in Rome. Among the visitors to Rome that winter was Lady Glynne, widow of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, of Hawarden Castle, in Wales, and her two daughters. Mr. Gladstone already knew something of these ladies, for he had formed the acquaintance of Lady Glynne's son at Oxford, and had been at Hawarden. The result of a renewal of their acquaintance at Rome was that Mr. Gladstone became engaged to the elder daughter, Miss Catherine Glynne, whom he married at Hawarden on the 25th of July, 1839. Speaking of this marriage Mr. Justin McCarthy says:

"Without in the least degree invading the sacred domain of a great man's private life, it may be said that no marriage could possibly have been more happy than that of Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone. The pair were young together, became mature together, and grew old together. I do not mean to say that they passed their lives in the same dwelling, but what I do mean to say is that they were always thoroughly together in purpose and spirit, in heart and in soul. There never could have been a wife more absolutely devoted to her husband and to his cause than Mrs. Gladstone. There was something unspeakably touching, even to mere and casual observers like myself, in the tender care which she always lavished upon him, a care which advancing years seemed rather to increase

than to diminish. One was reminded sometimes of the saying of Burke, that he never had an outside trouble in his life which did not vanish at the sight of his wife, when he crossed the threshold of his home. Gladstone had several children. Two of his sons were at one time members of the House of Commons. William Henry, the eldest son, has long since passed out of life. Herbert Gladstone is, I hope and fully believe, destined to carry on the renown of the name."

In 1841 the disordered finances of the country led to the defeat of the Russell Ministry, a dissolution of Parliament, and another election. The Tories came back with a large majority. A new Ministry was formed by Peel, in which Gladstone, who had again been elected for Newark, became Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint. He set at work to revise the tariff, reducing or abolishing the duty on twelve hundred articles. The knowledge which he displayed in commercial affairs, the lucid and happy presentation of the dry subject of finance before the House, won universal admiration and proclaimed him the coming financial minister, yet amid all the excitements and interests of office, he could turn aside to discourse on social and educational questions with as much earnestness and eloquence as if they, and only they, possessed his mind. In January, 1843, he spoke at the opening of the Collegiate Institution of Liverpool, and delivered a powerful plea for the better education of the middle classes.

In this year (1843) Mr. Gladstone was appointed, on the resignation of Lord Ripon, President of the Board of Trade. This was his first Cabinet position. His path seemed now direct and easy to the highest offices in the gift of the State. But just at this point an unexpected

obstacle arose in his way, one which perplexed and annoyed his friends not a little—a conscientious scruple. Sir Robert Peel, desirous of conciliating the Irish, proposed, among other measures, to increase the Government subsidy to the Maynooth College, in Ireland, an institution designed especially for those who wished to enter the Catholic priesthood. Gladstone was not quite sure that he approved of the measure; nor was he sure that he disapproved of it. Unwilling to be committed to a measure about which his mind was not fully made up, in spite of the urgent entreaty of his friends, he resigned his office. Yet he did not for that reason oppose the measure in Parliament. Had the word "crank" been then invented, it would undoubtedly have been applied to him; and yet his action did not, as the world knows, end his political career, as it probably would have done in the case of a man of less transcendent ability. As a rule, politicians have no use for a man who is troubled with a conscience.

The great struggle against the Corn Laws and in favor of Free Trade, aided by the famine in Ireland, was now taking place. Mr. Gladstone had become a free-trader, and as a member of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry—to which he had been recalled in spite of the action just mentioned—assisted ably in the passage of the Free-Trade Bill. On the very day on which Peel won his victory in this memorable contest, he was defeated on a Coercion Bill for Ireland, and resigned his office. Mr. Gladstone, of course, went out of office with him.

To enter the Peel Ministry, Mr. Gladstone had been obliged to resign his seat in Parliament. Being now on the Free-Trade side in politics, while his old friend, the Duke of Newcastle, was a rabid protectionist, he felt a delicacy about running for reëlection in Newark, and

remained out of Parliament until the autumn session of 1847. There had been a general election, and Gladstone had been returned for the University of Oxford.

The next three years of Mr. Gladstone's political life are not marked by any events of great importance. He was faithful in his attendance to his Parliamentary duties, and spoke on all manner of public questions. Though still clinging to his Tory principles, he was becoming more liberal. He supported Lord John Russell in a resolution passed by the House of Commons, which declared the Jews eligible to all places and functions for which Roman Catholics might be chosen.

On the 24th of June, 1850, Mr. Gladstone made his first really great speech in the House of Commons. It was made in reply to a speech of Lord Palmerston, in the course of a debate on a resolution introduced by Mr. Roebuck declaring that the general foreign policy of the Government was calculated to maintain the honor and dignity of the country. Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, had been charged with dealing harshly with the little State of Greece, in the matter of a preposterous claim for damages made upon Greece by a British subject, whose house had been destroyed by a mob at Athens. Hence the resolution. Lord Palmerston's speech in his defense was regarded as his greatest effort down to that time. The gist of it was that it behooved England to make herself respected abroad, to protect her subjects at all hazards; and in the course of it he appealed to every prejudice which could possibly affect the mind of the ordinary Briton. The Ministry won the victory with forty-six votes.

Mr. Gladstone, in replying to this speech, laid down the broad principle that the policy of a state should be based upon justice, not self-interest, no matter at what cost. He contended that a state as well as an individual,

should be guided by the dictates of Christianity; should practice self-restraint and moderation in dealing with the weak, and should pause before putting a harsh measure into force. This speech made the first full revelation of Mr. Gladstone's character as a statesman; it revealed him as the apostle of principle in political as well as in private life, and such Mr. Gladstone continued to the end. He endeavored at all times to reconcile politics with religion.

On the very day on which this great debate occurred, Sir Robert Peel, who had taken a part in the debate, met with a fatal accident, being thrown from his horse. The death of Sir Robert Peel deprived Mr. Gladstone of one of his most valued friends, his political leader. The two had worked together, their influence being mutual. From this time forward, Mr. Gladstone was left alone to shape the course of his political career.

The winter of 1850 was spent by Mr. Gladstone with his family in Naples. One of the results was a letter addressed to a friend, Lord Aberdeen, in which he revealed and denounced the cruelties practiced by the Neapolitan Government upon political prisoners. He had taken the pains himself to investigate the matter; had obtained admission to the prisons. This letter, which was followed by a second, created a profound sensation throughout Europe, and called forth many answers. Mr. Gladstone did not present the subject as one with which England or any other Nation was called upon to deal; but simply as a case of political barbarity, of which the civilized world ought to know. In these letters Mr. Gladstone revealed himself more distinctly than ever before as the champion of humanity.

In this year (1850) occurred the famous debate over the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. The Pope, Pius IX, had issued a Bull directing the Catholic Archbishops and Bish-

ops of England to designate themselves from the city or district over which they presided. Down to that time they had called themselves Bishops of Mesopotamia, or of Melipotamus, or what not, *"in partibus infidelium."* A tremendous popular excitement throughout England followed, resulting in many cases in mob violence. The Government found itself compelled to do something. Lord John Russell, then Prime Minister, introduced into Parliament a bill forbidding the use of these titles—forbidding, for example, Archbishop Wiseman to call himself Archbishop of Westminster, instead of Bishop of Melipotamus. In the House of Commons nearly all the intellectual members, irrespective of creed—Gladstone among them, it is needless to say—arrayed themselves against the bill; yet in spite of every effort it was passed by an overwhelming majority. This debate is notable from the fact that Mr. Gladstone, who on this occasion marshaled the opposing forces, now appears for the first time in the *rôle* of a great Parliamentary leader. It may be added that, though the bill was passed, it was never enforced, and that twenty years later Mr. Gladstone had the pleasure of quietly repealing it.

In 1851 the Russell Ministry was succeeded by a Ministry formed by Lord Stanley, in which Mr. Disraeli became Chancellor of the Exchequer. This was the first appearance in the Cabinet of this nearly life-long opponent of Mr. Gladstone—afterward Lord Beaconsfield. Soon after the formation of the new Ministry, Parliament was dissolved. Mr. Gladstone was again elected for Oxford. The results of the general election did not materially affect the balance of parties, and Lord Stanley, now become Lord Derby, returned to office with Mr. Disraeli again as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In 1852 began the long Parliamentary duel between

Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, which ended only when Mr. Disraeli left the House of Commons in 1876, and entered the House of Lords. In every important debate they were pitted against each other. If Mr. Disraeli spoke he was followed by Mr. Gladstone; if Mr. Gladstone spoke he was answered by Mr. Disraeli. Respecting this combat of giants, Mr. Justin McCarthy says:

"I heard nearly all the great speeches made by both the men in that duel, which lasted for so many years. My own observation and judgment gave the superiority to Mr. Gladstone all through; but I quite admit that Disraeli stood up well against his great opponent, and that it was not always easy to award the prize of victory. The two men's voices were curiously unlike. Disraeli had a deep, low, powerful voice, heard everywhere throughout the house, but having little variety or music in it. Gladstone's voice was tuned to a higher key, was penetrating, resonant, liquid and full of an exquisite modulation and music, which gave new shades of meaning to every emphasized word. The ways of the men were in almost every respect curiously unlike. Gladstone was always eager for conversation. He loved to talk to anybody about anything. Disraeli, even among his most intimate friends, was given to frequent fits of absolute and apparently gloomy silence. . . . Not less different were the characters and temperaments of the two men. Gladstone changed his political opinions many times during his long Parliamentary career. But he changed his opinion only in deference to the force of a growing conviction, and to the recognition of facts and conditions which he could no longer conscientiously dispute. Nobody probably ever knew what Mr. Disraeli's real opinions were upon any political question, or whether he had any real opinions at all."

The first encounter in this grand duel was over Mr. Disraeli's financial budget. Mr. Gladstone completely demolished the budget. This was near the close of the year 1852. Lord Derby resigned and a coalition Government was formed, with Lord Aberdeen as Prime Minister and Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Now came the Crimean War (March 27, 1854), of interest here only because Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer had the duty of providing for the ways and means; and because during the war there were Cabinet changes which led to his being for a short time in the Ministry of Lord Palmerston. This acceptance of office under a Whig leader has been noted as a "distinct advance to Liberalism first and to Radicalism afterward."

We shall now pass over a period of fourteen years, which will bring us to the year 1868. In these fourteen years many events had happened which in a more complete account of the career of Mr. Gladstone would need to be treated of; but they are of minor importance by the side of events which came after. One thing should be noted, however—Mr. Gladstone's attitude toward the United States at the time of our Civil War. Mr. Gladstone unluckily committed himself to a sort of declaration in favor of the South. Speaking at a public meeting at Newcastle-on-Tyne, in October, 1862, he gave it as his conviction that Jefferson Davis "had made an army, had made a navy, and, more than that, had made a Nation." The Unionists in America had only too good reason at that time to feel that the sympathies of the higher classes in England were, with some notable individual exceptions, against them, and Mr. Gladstone was ranked among those who would gladly see our Union broken up. And yet there are reasons for believing that this was not true. He himself five years later used these words: "I must confess

that I was wrong; that I took too much upon myself in expressing such an opinion. Yet the motive was not bad. My sympathies were then—where they had long been, and where they are now—with the whole American people."

We are at the year 1868. Mr. Gladstone has advanced very far politically from his position in 1854. Then he was a Tory, yet with liberal views. Later he became a Whig, and served in the Cabinet under Lord Russell and with Lord Palmerston. Now he has become a Radical, bent upon reform. It should be said that Palmerston had recently died; that Earl Russell, at the close of 1867, determined to retire finally from politics, having pointed to Mr. Gladstone as the future Liberal Prime Minister, and that, by a singular coincidence, Lord Derby, owing to his failing health, had also retired, and that Mr. Disraeli had become Prime Minister.

On the 30th of March (1868) Mr. Gladstone introduced into the House of Commons a resolution condemning the existence of the Irish State Church. It was a Church established and endowed by the State; but its teachings were rejected by five-sixths of the Irish people. Already a resolution had been introduced declaring it a "scandalous and monstrous anomaly." But as soon as Mr. Gladstone had pronounced himself strongly in favor of the resolution it was withdrawn, for the purpose of giving him a chance of taking the initiative in the move against the Church. The Gladstone resolution was passed by a large majority, and Mr. Disraeli announced that the Government would dissolve and appeal to the country. The general election came on, and the Liberals returned to power. Mr. Disraeli resigned his office and Mr. Gladstone formed a new Cabinet. He made it known that according to his opinion the three great evils of Ireland

were the State Church, the land-tenure system, and the system of national education; and he set to work with a view to this career of reform. The Church was the first to be attacked. The Government carried its proposal. The Irish Church ceased to exist as a State-supported establishment and passed into the condition of a free Episcopal Church.

Mr. Gladstone next introduced a Land Tenure Bill, which, though not without a struggle, he carried. The bill extended to the whole of Ireland what was known as the "Ulster System," which entitled the tenant to some share and property in the improvements which he himself had made in his farm, whereas under the "rack-rent" system, which prevailed generally over Ireland, the more the tenant improved his land the more rent he must pay. The bill did not accomplish all that was expected of it, and it has been again and again amended and expanded. In fact, the subject of land tenure in Ireland has not even yet been finally disposed of. But Mr. Gladstone's bill of 1870 established a principle which has become accepted, and it thus opened a new era for Ireland.

Mr. Gladstone now established for England a great system of national education. Down to this time the education of the lower classes in England had been totally neglected by the State. England was in this respect far behind the most of the German States and the United States. The principle now established in England was that the State ought to provide for and enforce a popular elementary education. In 1871 a measure was carried by Mr. Gladstone to substitute the ballot for open voting in the elections for the House of Commons. At about the same time he abolished the custom of selling commissions in the army.

The third item of reform in Ireland on the programme

of Mr. Gladstone concerned the national education, that is, the University system, for there was no other national education in Ireland than that afforded by the colleges. It would not be easy in a short space to explain all the details of the system with which he had to deal. His object was to effect such a combination among the existing colleges as would give to the Protestants and the Catholics equal facilities and privileges. It must suffice to say that the bill which he attempted to put through Parliament was a compromise measure, which pleased nobody, and that he was defeated on the question of its final passage, though only by three votes. The inevitable followed. Mr. Gladstone resigned office. But Mr. Disraeli refused to undertake to form a new Ministry, and Gladstone was prevailed upon again to take the office of Prime Minister, though under the circumstances his usefulness was practically at an end. He enabled, however, Mr. Fawcett to carry a measure for the abolition of religious tests in the University of Dublin.

Parliament was summoned for February 5, 1874, but, as it proved, only for the purpose of a dissolution. Mr. Gladstone had determined to appeal to the country, in the hope of obtaining a popular approval of his general policy. In the political campaign which followed, Mr. Gladstone exerted himself with all the ardor of a young man and with tireless energy to arouse the country to his support, addressing meetings in halls and in the open air; but the tide had turned, and no effort of his could check it. He was defeated. The Conservatives in the new House of Commons had a clear majority of fifty-six. Mr. Gladstone, following the example of Mr. Disraeli in 1868, resigned the Premiership, and Mr. Disraeli became the head of the new Ministry.

Mr. Gladstone now surprised the Liberal party and

grieved many of his personal friends by clearly intimating in a letter to Lord Granville his purpose to resign the leadership of his party, pleading his advanced age—though he was now but sixty-five and no one yet had thought of him as old—and the need of rest. This purpose was declared still more distinctly in a second letter to Granville in January, 1875, and another reason was added, that he meant for a short time to be engaged on a "special matter" which occupied him much. There was no help for it. The Liberals cast about for a new leader, and their choice fell on Lord Hartington. During the session Mr. Gladstone took no active part in the proceedings of the House, though he spoke occasionally.

The "special matter" turned out to be chiefly an attack on "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance" in the form of a pamphlet which had an immense circulation and caused a very angry controversy. One of its effects was to chill for a time the long and warm friendship between Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Manning —a friendship which had begun at Oxford. In his youth Mr. Gladstone had himself had a strong desire to enter the Church, but had been dissuaded from this career by his father. Yet he always maintained his interest in theological matters, and found it a relief to turn to them from politics. This particular pamphlet has now no special interest for us except as it illustrates this penchant of Mr. Gladstone.

But Mr. Gladstone had by no means dropped politics "for good and all." He had, in fact, overestimated his own strength of will in the matter. So long as there was nothing in particular to be done in the political arena, he could devote himself heart and soul to his literary recreation, could smile at the flashy foreign policy of Mr. Disraeli, and go on with his theological polemics. But some-

thing happened in 1876 which was of particular interest—the Bulgarian massacres. Mr. Disraeli affected to disbelieve the story of these atrocities, or to believe, at any rate, that their enormity had been greatly exaggerated, notwithstanding the confirmation of an able correspondent of the "Daily News," who had investigated on the spot. The work of the Bashi-Bazouks had been simply fiendish. Whole villages were found whose streets, otherwise deserted, were covered with the bodies of slaughtered women and children. All England boiled with indignation. Mr. Gladstone boiled, and, like another Achilles, he came forth from his tent and took his place at the front, the practical though not the nominal leader of the Liberal party.

Mr. Gladstone issued a manifesto in the shape of a pamphlet on "Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East," in which he declared that the only way to secure any lasting good for the Christian population of Turkey was to turn the Turkish officials out "bag and baggage." This was practically what was now done for Bulgaria, the result having been brought about largely through the exertions of Mr. Gladstone in the British House of Commons. Bulgaria was erected into a practically independent province under the nominal suzerainty of Turkey, and it is now a well ordered and prosperous State.

In this year, 1876, Mr. Disraeli was raised to the peerage, under the title of Beaconsfield, and entered the House of Lords.

The Conservative party had now had its day. A general election resulted in its overwhelming defeat. The Liberals came back to Parliament with a majority of more than 120. Lord Granville, the Liberal leader in the House of Peers, and Lord Hartington, the nominal leader of that party in the House of Commons, were successively

sent for by the Queen and asked to form a Ministry. Both declined, declaring that Mr. Gladstone alone would be acceptable to the Liberal party. Accordingly, Mr. Gladstone was tendered the office, and became Prime Minister for a second time.

Mr. Gladstone was no sooner settled in office than he began to turn his thoughts to new and great measures of reform. Many events had directed his attention to the condition of Ireland. The state of the Irish tenant farmer appeared to him to call for immediate remedy. The Land Tenure Bill of 1870 had done something; but this measure had been only an experiment, and he determined now to improve upon it. He began with the introduction of a bill—designed only as a temporary measure pending anticipated legislation—which secured to any evicted Irish tenant compensation for any improvements effected in his farm by his own industry and his own skill. The bill was defeated in the House of Lords. The effect in Ireland, where Mr. Gladstone's course was watched with hopeful interest, was disastrous. It seemed to indicate that however friendly he might be toward Ireland, he was powerless to act.

The Irish question is quite too large a subject to be treated here at any length. It must suffice to give in a short paragraph the bare headings of events which occurred about this time. Agrarian outrage in Ireland led to coercive legislation, and coercion increased the disturbances. The Home Rule movement took a fresh start under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell. In the House of Commons Parnell and his followers attempted to force attention to the grievances of Ireland by systematic obstruction of legislation. This brought Parnell into conflict with Gladstone. A bill was passed, on the recommendation of the Secretary for Ireland, giving the

authorities in Dublin Castle power to arrest persons "reasonably suspected of dangerous purposes." Mr. Parnell and nearly all the leaders of the Irish National movement were arrested and imprisoned, but Mr. Gladstone found it advisable after a while to release Parnell and the most of his friends. Then came the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Thomas Burke in the Phœnix Park—outrages which for a time were charged against the Irish Nationalists, though undoubtedly unjustly, and occasioned in England intensely bitter feeling against the Irish.

In attempting things impossible at this time, Mr. Gladstone, with the best of intentions, offended the Irish, offended the English landholders, offended many of his own partisans, and accomplished nothing. Meanwhile, in consequence of the foreign policy of his predecessors in office, he had trouble in Egypt, where he supported the Khedive against the insurgent chief Arabi Pasha—a course which led to the bombardment of Alexandria, which was generally disapproved of in England; and trouble in South Africa, where he made what was considered an ignominious peace with the Boers. Before these accumulated difficulties, his administration fell. He was succeeded as Premier by Lord Salisbury, whose government was not long, however. In November, 1885, Parliament was dissolved. The result of the election which followed gave the Tories only a doubtful majority, dependent on the support of the Irish members. Lord Salisbury very soon resigned, and Mr. Gladstone, who now represented Midlothian, in Scotland, became Prime Minister for the third time.

We come now to the crowning act in Mr. Gladstone's long political career—his effort to give Home Rule to Ireland. The announcement that he was about to take this step—at first in the form of a rumor, which later had

the sanction of his own silence—came to the people of England, and even to his intimate friends, as a thunderclap from a clear sky. Mr. Gladstone's enemies charged him with all sorts of motives, in the heat of political excitement. Some of his friends believed that he was committing a political blunder. The question for us is: What did Mr. Gladstone himself think? No one who has carefully studied his political career, can for a moment doubt that his motive for bringing forward this measure was a sincere belief, founded upon a careful study of all the circumstances, that Home Rule, in some form, offered the best solution of the vexing Irish question, the only lasting solution; and having made up his mind upon this point, he had the heroism to act upon his convictions, no matter at what cost or sacrifice. Mr. Gladstone was charged during his lifetime with a frequent change of his political opinions, a thing unintelligible to the average politician. Really Mr. Gladstone's course from first to last was entirely consistent; he changed his views upon particular questions, but never his principles. He started as a Tory, because as such he was educated; Toryism was the politics of his father. He became liberal as his judgment matured, because it was in his nature to be just toward all men. He became a Whig, because he saw, as his experience widened, that there was need of reform to ensure progress, and Toryism meant an unreasoning clinging to the traditions of the past. He became a Liberal, because the average Whig refused to go to the extent which he deemed right in the matter of reform, and he ended in a position away ahead of the majority of even the Liberal party.

Mr. Gladstone's proposition was to give to Ireland a Parliament at Dublin, and to deprive her of her representation in the British Parliament. We need not follow the struggle which ensued, both in and out of Parliament. It

is enough to say that the Liberal party became divided, one branch of it forming a "Unionist" party, under the lead of Mr. Chamberlain, who, together with several others, had resigned from Mr. Gladstone's cabinet; and that, although Mr. Gladstone now had the Irish vote with him, a coalition was formed against him, which was strong enough to defeat his bill. He now dissolved the Parliament (in June), appealed to the country, and, despite his most strenuous efforts, was defeated in the election. As a consequence he resigned from office, and a new ministry was formed by Lord Salisbury.

With the opening of the new Parliament, Mr. Gladstone, now seventy-six years old, entered upon an extraordinary course of physical and intellectual effort, with voice and pen, in Parliament and on the platform, on behalf of the cause, defeated but not abandoned, of self-government for Ireland. In 1892 the tide had again turned, and Mr. Gladstone, at the age of eighty-three, became, for the fourth time, Prime Minister of England. He now introduced a second Irish Home Rule Bill, considerably modified from the first. After a long and arduous struggle the bill was carried through the House of Commons, but was defeated in the House of Lords by a majority of more than ten to one. Mr. Gladstone might well be content with this approval of his policy; for nothing better could have been expected in the House of Lords, which is instinctively opposed to every reform.

Mr. Gladstone made his last speech in the House of Commons on the 1st of March, 1894. It was not in the nature of a farewell address, and few persons in the House knew that he had decided upon resigning his office. The question under discussion, though not an important one, involved a conflict between the Repre-

sentative Chamber and the Hereditary Chamber. It seems peculiarly fitting that Mr. Gladstone's last utterances in the House, through which he had carried so many reform measures, should have borne upon still another great and inevitable change which should remove from legislation the obstructive interference of the House of Lords.

Four years still remain of Mr. Gladstone's life. Unfortunately, we are obliged to pass them quickly. His time had come for rest—for rest as understood always by Mr. Gladstone, that is, a change of work. He retired to his estate at Hawarden, and here he turned his attention once again to his favorite subject—theology. He wrote letters, essays, and even books upon theological subjects, nor in the meantime did much escape him in politics or even in light literature. He allowed the outside world to know, although in becoming guarded fashion, his opinion on this and that measure which was under discussion in Parliament. And that outer world, far from forgetting him, seemed to become more and more interested in him and his ways as the years of his retirement passed. We refer not particularly to the numerous pilgrimages made to Hawarden by his admirers, and which became so frequent that they had to be placed under regulation, but to that larger world which heard of him only through the newspaper press. Whatever item of news came from Gladstone or related to Gladstone was sure of interested readers. People were interested in his habits—his early walks to church before breakfast, his afternoon walks about his premises, his delight in chess and in whist, and particularly were they interested in his wood-chopping, for no surer sign could be given of his remarkable physical vigor. Somebody at some time referred to him as "The

Grand Old Man." The phrase struck the public as a happy one. It clung to him as a title, a distinction which must have been peculiarly gratifying to him, since it came from no sovereign, but from the people, whom he loved so much. It may not be too late to say that Queen Victoria had offered him a peerage, which he had in the most courteous manner declined—very sensibly, we all say.

It is the unhappy experience of the biographer that, no matter how long he may make his story, it always comes to the same sad ending. We shall not dwell unnecessarily on the last days of Mr. Gladstone. For many years Mr. Gladstone had found Cannes, on the Riviera, a favorite spot in which to seek repose during the winter months. Thither he went to spend the winter of 1898. It was known that Mr. Gladstone's health was not good. Soon reports that were alarming began to spread about him. He suffered severely from facial neuralgia. The reports which came were conflicting; yet it was certain that his condition was serious. In March he returned to England. He seemed better for his trip, and that this was the case was reported by his family. Having spent a short time with his son in London, he went to his home at Hawarden. The public fixed its attention upon this place, and read with interest the reports—the bulletins—which came almost daily; and soon, in spite of the hopeful tenor of them all, it became only too evident that Mr. Gladstone was dying. Slowly but surely he grew more and more feeble. The pain was in a great measure checked. But that the end was fast approaching, none could doubt. It came on Ascension Day, the 19th of May, 1898. Mr. Gladstone passed away peacefully at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. All the members of his family were gathered at his bedside.

Mr. Gladstone's remains were deposited, May 28th, in Westminster Abbey. A space was left at their side for those of her who was his devoted companion for nearly sixty years.

We have already quoted from Mr. Justin McCarthy's "Life of Gladstone." No apology will be needed for closing this short story with another extract from the same work:

"I do not know whether English Parliamentary history records greater doings of any man. In different paths of political work, other men may have been as great as he. Probably Fox was his equal in Parliamentary debate. The elder Pitt was probably as great an orator as Mr. Gladstone. But not Fox, nor Chatham, nor William Pitt had anything like Mr. Gladstone's capacity for constructive legislature, and the resources of information possessed by Fox, or Chatham, or Pitt were poor indeed when compared with that store-house of knowledge which supplied Mr. Gladstone's intellectual capacity. Mr. Gladstone was possessed through his life with an eager desire to do the right thing at all times. No human interest was indifferent to him, and the smallest wrong as well as the greatest aroused his most impassioned sympathies, and made him resolve that wrong should be righted. The name conferred upon him by nobody knows whom will be borne by him to all time, and so long as the history of Queen Victoria's reign remains in the memory of civilization he will still be 'The Grand Old Man.'"

COUNT CAVOUR

1810-1861

THE MAKING OF UNITED ITALY

Camillo Benso di Cavour, the great statesman to whom Italy owes its present status as one of the Great Powers of Europe, was born at Turin on August 10, 1810. Count Cavour belonged to one of the oldest families of the Italian nobility, tracing his genealogy back to an ancestor who came into Italy among the followers of Frederick Barbarossa. His father, the Marquis Michele di Cavour, intended his son for the army. Accordingly, at ten years of age, Camillo was sent to the military academy. Here he distinguished himself so greatly, especially for his proficiency in mathematics, that when he left the academy at sixteen, he was a sub-lieutenant of engineers, although by the rules of the service it was not before twenty years of age that an officer's commission could be obtained.

Cavour's military career was destined, however, to be of short duration. After having served in various garrisons, he was sent to Genoa, where, in consequence of some imprudent expressions, in a time of political excitement, he got into disgrace, which he soon found could only end by resigning his commission. His resignation was at once accepted, and he entered upon the life of a civilian at the age of twenty, with no career before him and without credit or distinction.

The next fifteen years of Cavour's life were spent in farming and in business operations. We are told that

when he began his agricultural apprenticeship, on one of the family estates, it was as much as he could do to distinguish a cabbage from a turnip. But his progress was rapid, and in 1833 he undertook the management of a large estate, much neglected, which his father had bought a few years previously, and here he was soon devoting all his energies to scientific farming.

But Cavour was instinctively attracted toward every subject which tended to satisfy his insatiable activity. The agricultural, manufacturing and financial enterprises, some of a private nature, others of a public interest, in which he engaged during these years, are too many to enumerate. At one time he was superintending the clearing of a forest; at another he was undertaking to supply the Pasha of Egypt with 800 merino sheep, which afterward he did not know where to get (though he soon found the means of doing so), then making canals, introducing the cultivation of beet-root, and projecting a manufactory of sugar; but in all this confining himself to agriculture; "for," as he wrote to M. Naville, "our government has no liking for manufactures. It fancies that manufactories are allied to liberalism, to which it entertains an invincible repugnance. In our country, if one would live in peace, one must attend to agriculture alone." But after working in every direction in this field, to which he was limited by the Government, Cavour was not long before he passed the boundary line which separated it from manufacture. He established packet-boats on the Lago Maggiore; and in Turin, steam-mills for grinding corn, and a manufactory for chemical products. He formed a railway company, and founded the Bank of Turin. Cavour was a thorough man of business; but with him business was

always a secondary matter, an outlet for the superabundance of his activity, or a necessary consequence of his taste for agriculture, which, so long as he was not engaged in politics, was his chief occupation and career. In this way, by multifarious business enterprises, Cavour unknowingly trained his faculties for use in that larger field of action to which he was destined to be called; and this explains how, when he entered upon the government of his country, there was not one department of the state which he was not prepared to fill and perfectly fitted to administer.

But all this time Cavour, though excluded from any active participation in the affairs of the Government, was very far from being indifferent to the political movements and agitations which were disturbing the peace of Italy and the whole of Europe. In politics he was liberal, but not radical. The following extract from one of his letters defines his position as early as 1833, a position which became strengthened as his experience widened, and which furnishes the key to his whole political career. "I have long wavered in the midst of these opposite movements. Reason is inclined toward moderation; an irresistible desire to make our laggards move forward drove me toward the movement party. At length, after numerous violent agitations and oscillations, I have ended by fixing myself, like the pendulum of a clock, in the *juste-milieu*. Accordingly, I inform you that I am an honest member of the *juste-milieu* (exact middle), eager for social progress and working at it with all my strength, but determined not to purchase it at the cost of political and social subversion." What Cavour wished to see was reform, not revolution. He wished to see Italy emancipated from tyranny; he fore-

saw that a violent crisis was at hand; but he wished to see this crisis brought about with as much prudence as the state of things would permit.

We are approaching the period of Cavour's appearance in public life, and it is desirable to understand the situation which confronted him. The condition of Italy at this time was as deplorable as can well be imagined. Its people, more especially the lower classes, exasperated by long misrule and stimulated by the example of France, were in a state of chronic insurrection, and were kept in submission only by the show of brute force. Nowhere was there any attempt at liberal government,—unless, perhaps, in Piedmont,—no thought on the part of the rulers to conciliate the hostility of their subjects by concession of any sort, but everywhere was enforced against the restless population a tyrannical policy of repression. Tyranny was met by conspiracy. The Carbonari Society and other revolutionary associations, which included among the legitimate means of contending with oppression organized assassination, extended their ramifications throughout Italy. And to render the political situation still more galling to all classes, the intelligent as well as the ignorant, the controlling power in nearly all Italy was Austria, the "foreigner," as was the term contemptuously applied to her. In the north, Lombardy and Venice were directly subject to the Emperor, and, strongly garrisoned by Austrian troops, were a standing menace to the rest of Italy. Tuscany was governed by a Duke of the House of Austria; the King of Naples, though a Bourbon prince, was backed by the same power, and the Austrian influence was equally dominant in Modena, Parma and other Italian duchies. The papal States were governed by Leo XII, who had adopted a coercive policy as grinding as that of any of

the Austrian princes. The most tolerant of the Italian governments at this time was that of Piedmont (Sardinia), whose King, Charles Albert, though an absolute ruler, was still a man of liberal views and disposed to consult the wishes of his people.

To see Italy freed from her foreign masters, and more than this, to see the separate States of which she was composed united under a single Government, had become the earnest desire of every Italian patriot, to whatever class he belonged. The question on which the views of the patriots differed, and differed widely, was the means by which the great end should be accomplished and the sort of government which should be established. The great majority favored a republic; they would emulate France; they would upset entirely the existing state of things, and would oust from their places all princes and their belongings. The great leader of the republican party was Mazzini. It was the aim of Mazzini, not merely to make a republic of Italy, but to overthrow tyrants throughout Europe; to establish in Europe, if not one grand republic, at least a confederacy of republics. A beautiful scheme, well calculated to captivate the impulsive and unreflecting multitude. But Mazzini's followers were by no means all of this class. Among them were found many men of sober judgment as well as of earnest patriotism. Between these radicals and the conservatives, who dreaded all change, were men of every shade of opinion. It was this question which Cavour had in mind when he announced himself a member of the *juste-milieu*—the exact middle.

Toward the end of 1847, Cavour established a newspaper, called the "Risorgimento." At that time the restrictions under which the Piedmontese press labored had, in theory, undergone no change. Still, the Sardin-

ian Government had arrived at one of those periods when the strict enforcement of the law becomes so manifestly improper as to appear almost illegal. Cavour's chief aim in the establishment of this paper was to instruct and enlighten a public hitherto kept in ignorance, but desirous to learn, anxious to understand, and who were in earnest. He discussed the principles which form the basis of political liberty, pointed out how that liberty should be applied, and what was its most obvious consequence. Cavour's articles soon came to have a wide circulation and were read with avidity, and they no doubt contributed largely to shape the political sentiment of Piedmont, and secured for him a reputation for moderation and earnestness.

Toward the end of this year (1847), the agitation in Italy was extreme. Pius IX, who had been elected Pope in the year preceding, had pardoned all political offenders in the Papal States, and had granted these States a constitution. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, influenced by this example, and warned by events of which the urgency became every day more and more apparent, in the following February granted, without solicitation, though in obedience to the obvious wish of his subjects, a constitution to Sardinia. The important duty of drawing up the electoral law was confided to a special commission, of which Cavour was called upon to form a part. All that is known of their labor is the result; but as the result was in exact conformity with the suggestions of a series of articles on the electoral question which had appeared in the "Risorgimento," we may be allowed to attribute it, in great part at least, to Cavour, who was the author of those articles. Taken as a whole, his views may be summed up under two principal heads: he is

against universal suffrage, and in favor of a multiplicity of electoral colleges; and he considers the publicity of the sittings of Parliament and the liberty of the press as essentials of any real system of representation.

Cavour failed to obtain a seat in the first Parliament chosen under this Constitution; but he was elected a member of the second, and he continued to be a member of this body until he passed from it to the Cabinet.

In February, 1848, occurred the Revolution in Paris which resulted in the abdication of Louis Philippe. The shock of this political uprising reached Italy, and gave a temporary ascendency to the Mazzinists. Sicily declared her independence from the Bourbons, and called the Duke of Genoa to the throne. In Naples, the moderate liberal Government yielded to a more radical administration. The Austrians were expelled from Milan and the Governor of Venice capitulated. With these last mentioned events we are now more particularly concerned.

The enthusiasm which prevailed in Northern Italy impelled Charles Albert to declare war against Austria. On the 8th of April he pushed his troops beyond the Mincio, while Piacenza, Parma, Modena, and the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom voted their union to Sardinia by universal suffrage. But the Austrian general, Radetzky, though he lost a battle at Goito, and was forced to witness the capitulation of Peschiera in May, had not given up the game. The Pope had sent troops, which were established at Vicenza, to support the Sardinians. These Radetzky compelled to surrender in June. He then attacked Charles Albert's army, which was investing Mantua, and having gained over it a complete victory, made his entry into Milan. Charles Albert had to retire beyond the Ticino and beg for an armistice. These

successes of the Austrians were followed by successes in other parts of Italy. Still, Charles Albert, restrained by the temporary supremacy of the Radical party in Sardinia, which found support in the sympathy extended to the Lombard refugees who flocked into Turin, did not make peace with Austria. In March, 1849, he again took the field. On the 24th Radetzky gained a complete victory over him at Novara, and he was compelled to abdicate the throne of Sardinia on the field in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel. This event, followed a few months later by his death at Oporto, whither he had retired, produced a profound sensation throughout Italy, and Charles Albert came to be looked upon as a martyr to the cause of Italian independence.

The first act of the young king, Victor Emmanuel, was to take an oath of fidelity to the Constitution, and honestly to enter upon the path which was to make his reign illustrious, notwithstanding that the influence of Austria was brought to bear to induce him to overthrow the Constitution, and that many of his advisers counseled the same course. The position in which the new king found himself was a difficult one. The country was in a state of anarchy, excitement and general prostration. The war had been disastrous, and the Nation had now to be redeemed from the conditions of an humiliating peace. Massimo d'Azeglio, one of the ablest of the champions of Italy, was placed at the head of the Cabinet, and at once entered upon a contest with the radical party, which had gained a temporary preponderance in the Parliament and sought to prolong the war. D'Azeglio found an able supporter in Cavour, both as leader of the moderate party in the Chamber and as editor of the "Risorgimento," which throughout the war had

given the King its cordial support, and now came to the assistance of the Cabinet.

In March, 1850, d'Azeglio, at the instigation of Cavour, laid his hands upon certain privileges of the clergy, and proposed the suppression of the ecclesiastical tribunals. A contest was thus opened with the Church, which, though it continued with bitterness for a number of years, may be disposed of here with bare statement that it ended in the complete overthrow of the Church party, and in the establishment of one of the great principles for which Cavour fought, namely, an entire exclusion of the Church from the Government, or, in the phrase of Cavour, "a free Church in a free State."

In the following August a vacancy occurred in the cabinet, and, at the request of d'Azeglio the vacant office —that of Minister of Agriculture, of Commerce and of the Navy—was offered to Cavour, who accepted it. Cavour had now an opportunity to give the State the benefit of his business experience.

He set to work at once, and with energy, to reform the financial system of the State, to revise the tariff, and, equally important, to plant the germ of an Italian navy. In a few months the conflict with the Church led to his resignation, and he took the occasion to pay a flying visit to England—his second visit to that country, for whose governmental system and policy he early became imbued with the highest admiration. In October, 1852, Cavour was sent for by the King, upon the advice of d'Azeglio, who had decided upon retiring, and was charged with the formation of a new Ministry. The Church question was still uppermost. The Ministry formed by Cavour was compelled soon to resign; but

an attempt to form another, more acceptable to the Church party, failed. Cavour was called back by the King, who gave him full power to break with Rome and form an administration, which was immediately done. Cavour became Minister of Finance, and President of the Council. From this time, with the exception of the short period after the peace of Villafranca, Cavour continued to fill the office of Prime Minister until the moment of his death.

Cavour adopted a policy of moderation with a view of gaining the support of all the parties in the State, or at least of lessening the violence of opposition. After a few months he took advantage of a resignation in his cabinet to admit into it, to the dismay of his colleagues, Ratazzi, the leader of the Radical party; and the wisdom of this move was justified by its beneficial effects.

The first years of his administration were devoted almost exclusively to internal reforms, to the revision of the laws, and to the material, moral, and political development of the country. General Lamarmora undertook the reform of the army; fortifications were restored and gradually put into a state of defense. A line of packets was established between Genoa and America, railroads were extended, the tunnel through Mont Cenis was projected, and treaties of commerce with several nations were concluded. Independently of treaties of commerce, intimate relations were formed with England, and amicable relations with France. In the case of Austria, the "foreigner," the policy was one of expectation—of truce, rather than of peace. He had still for a time the Church party to contend with; but the general approbation of his measures so strengthened him with the people that a new election gave him in the Parliament a complete majority, firmly united to him, and directed by their con-

stituents to support him; and henceforward he became the master of the situation, the dictator of the policy of the State.

This brings us to the Crimean war, to the second and most brilliant period in the career of Count Cavour. From the outset of the preparations for this war Cavour was strongly in favor of a treaty which had been urged upon Sardinia by England, and he pursuaded the King of its advisability; but his colleagues in the Cabinet were strongly opposed to it. The King and his Prime Minister carried the day, however, in the Cabinet discussions, and about the middle of December, 1854, Cavour, as Prime Minister, signed a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between Piedmont on the one side, and England and France on the other, the principal clause of which was that a Piedmontese army should be immediately sent to the Crimea. The ratification of this treaty met with violent opposition in the Chamber of Deputies; but here also, as in the Cabinet, Cavour carried the day.

For this alliance Cavour was, undoubtedly, solely responsible. It is the first act which gives the full measure of his political genius. Apparently Piedmont had not the slightest interest in the war; but Cavour looked beyond the present. His object was to introduce Piedmont into the arena of European politics, to secure for her, as the representative of Italy, recognition among the powers of Europe, and in this he succeeded. Piedmont sent to the Crimea an army of 20,000 men under the command,—not of Victor Emmanuel, who had hoped to lead it and was disappointed that this was not deemed advisable,—but of General Lamarmora. A victory gained by this army near the close of the war wiped out the disgrace of Novara, and gave the greatest satisfaction to the Piedmontese.

But far more important than this victory was the victory won in Paris by Cavour, as a delegate to the Peace Congress, which met in that city on the termination of the war. Austria was opposed to the admission of the Piedmontese delegate. It was undignified, she said, that the great powers should allow a mischievous little State of only four million of souls to take part in their deliberations. That Piedmont, at the eleventh hour, should with great difficulty have sent a few wretched battalions into the Crimea was no reason why she should be allowed to treat on terms of equality with empires whose armies amounted to hundreds of thousands. As for Italy, she had no concern in the matter, besides which she was very sufficiently represented by the Cabinet of Vienna. But England, France still more, and especially Russia, whose least wish was to please Austria, stood firm, and Cavour set off for Paris.

During the first sittings of the Congress, as long as the general conditions of the peace were under discussion, Cavour kept very modestly in the background, showing as much good taste as good policy. He left it to the great Powers to regulate the stipulations which, at the cost of such great sacrifices, they had acquired the right to claim on the one side, or to object to on the other. Called upon, however, in accordance with usage, to express his opinion, he gave it in few words, and without laying stress upon it. He spoke with moderation and precision, and with so great a knowledge of the subject as at once to excite the astonishment of men who, by profession, were bound to be astonished by nothing. It was soon evident that Cavour was a man with whom they would have to reckon. He, on his side, was observing, in the conflict of opinions and in-

terests, the hidden springs that he might one day bring into play.

The conference was drawing to a close, and not a word had been said of Italy. Cavour had refrained from introducing the subject, hoping that someone else might speak of her, knowing that an allusion to her wrongs would carry more weight if made by someone who was not an Italian. He restrained his impatience and waited; and not in vain. In one of the last sittings the President of the Congress, who was charged with the duty of suggesting subjects for deliberation, suddenly directed the attention of the plenipotentiaries to the State of Italy, a State, as he said, threatening the peace of Europe, because of the frequent outbreak of rebellion, the inevitable result of unpopular and oppressive systems of government. He suggested that the Congress should address a note to the Sovereigns of Italy, counseling them to adopt a more liberal policy in their respective States. Count Buol, the Austrian Deputy, at once protested formally against the introduction of a subject with which the Congress was not competent to deal, and after a brief discussion, the matter was dropped. No action was taken. But Cavour had gained all he had hoped for. In spite of the opposition of Austria, the name of Italy had been inscribed at full length on the public records of Europe.

The first step had been taken toward the execution of a project which Cavour had all along had in view—the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, and her unification and regeneration under the sovereignty of Victor Emmanuel. In order to carry out this grand design, the alliance of one or more of the great powers would be necessary. His preference was for England; but

England had found it to her interest in the Peace Congress to court the friendship of Austria, and Cavour learned to his great disappointment, upon visiting London after the close of the Congress, that his own conduct in that body had given offense to the English Government. He was compelled, therefore, to turn to France for an ally, as his second choice; and from this time forward he let slip no opportunity of cultivating the friendship of Napoleon.

On returning to Turin, Cavour entered upon the work of strengthening his own position, while at the same time he made preparations for the war which he meant, sooner or later, to force upon Austria. A marked change took place in his policy. Without ceasing to be liberal and constitutional, and to be supported by the majority, his policy became more exclusively Italian; it emanated more specially from himself, and it was more imperiously imposed upon Parliament who obeyed him as a master rather than as a leader. His ulterior purpose was divined, if not openly avowed, and the disposition to give him a free hand became more marked every day. Faith in Cavour spread far and wide. His power became practically autocratic. In Italy at that time there was but one policy—it may almost be said, but one religion—namely, the will of Cavour. And this will was directed steadily to a single purpose. To isolate Austria was the one end of Cavour's policy as Foreign Minister. He made every effort to win back England to his side; he endeavored to conciliate Prussia; he succeeded in gaining over Russia; and, without any concealment, he befriended the Moldavians, the Wallachians, and the Hungarians—all who were enemies of his enemy. At home, as Minister of Finance, he was lavish of public money. The army, the navy, great public works, were

increased to an extent quite disproportioned to the resources and real wants of Piedmont. Million after million was voted for the construction of vessels, for the increase of artillery, for additions to the army, for fortifications, for the tunnel through Mont Cenis. Everybody understood the purpose of these extraordinary outlays; and at last everybody came to wish for the inevitable war, some from enthusiasm and others as a release from intolerable suspense.

Ever since the Congress at Paris Cavour had felt that in a war with Austria he could rely upon the Emperor Napoleon. But in the winter of 1857-8 his plans were seriously imperiled by the attempt of Orsini on the Emperor's life. It was only by passing a bill which defined the crime of political assassination that he regained the Emperor's confidence. In the following July he visited the Emperor Napoleon at Plombières, having traveled thither incognito from Genoa, and concluded with him a secret treaty. The provisions of this treaty, so far as they can be divined from the events which followed, included the creation of a northern Kingdom of Italy, extending from the Alps to the Adriatic, and including the Duchies of Parma and Modena; and, as a return, the annexation of Nice and Savoy to France. A war to be forced upon Austria was, of course, a preliminary to the execution of this treaty.

Cavour returned to Turin to continue and to push forward with all his great energy the work of preparation. While in the midst of this work he received a visit from Garibaldi, who proffered his services. The events of 1848 had brought Garibaldi back to Italy, where he increased his reputation for personal bravery, and also displayed a degree of military capacity for a long time questioned by professional soldiers. At the siege of

Rome he had deserved to become the hero of Italy. Garibaldi, in the coming conflict, would be certain to carry with him the majority of the Republicans of Italy; hence Cavour now gladly accepted his offer of service, and agreed to aid him in the enrollment and equipment at Genoa of a thousand volunteers. Yet so strongly opposed was the War Minister to this employment of a Republican and a guerilla, that Cavour had no little difficulty in carrying out his engagement with Garibaldi. As to the claims which Garibaldi and his Republicans might set up on the conclusion of peace, Cavour counted on being able to dispose of them satisfactorily.

The Cabinet of Vienna, harassed by repeated memorials on the subject of its tyranny in Lombardy, complained to Europe that Piedmont was a standing menace to Italian peace, and in the latter part of April, 1859, sent an ultimatum to Turin demanding the disarmament of Sardinia. The hour to strike had now come. On the 8th of May Napoleon declared war against Austria amid the plaudits of Paris, and the enthusiasm of the army. The French at once entered Italy by the Mont Cenis pass, and by sea, landing at Genoa. The Emperor himself took the command-in-chief, and Victor Emmanuel placed himself under his orders. The affairs of Montebello and Palestro secured for the French the passage of the Po. On the 4th of June the French and Sardinians defeated the Austrians at Magenta; and again on the 24th at Solferino. A few days later Napoleon met the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph, at Villafranca, and without consulting his allies arranged with him the preliminary terms of peace.

Bitter indeed was the disappointment of Cavour and the Piedmontese at this unexpected cessation of hostilities. Napoleon had failed to keep his promise, since the

peace of Villafranca left Venice still in the hands of Austria. Still, much had been gained, and more was to be added. Tuscany, Modena, Parma, and Romagna declared their determination to join the Kingdom. In March, 1860, the annexation of Central Italy to Sardinia was effected, and approved by the French Emperor. In the South also the cause of Italy had been successful. Garibaldi, with his famous "Thousand," had set out from Genoa directly upon the declaration of war by Napoleon, and landing in Sicily, had proclaimed himself dictator in the name of Victor Emmanuel. A few days had sufficed for the conquest of Sicily. Thence he had crossed over to the continent, and having defeated the King of Naples, had entered the city on the 7th of September. Here he was joined by Mazzini, and it soon became apparent that under the sway of Republican enthusiasm he designed to march upon Rome. Under these circumstances Cavour, with the sanction of Napoleon, resolved upon sending his troops into the Papal States. General Cialdini occupied Urbino and Perugia, then joining Garibaldi he assisted him to gain a victory over the Bourbon troops on the Volturno. Soon after this Victor Emmanuel appeared in person upon the scene, and Garibaldi, having surrendered his dictatorship, returned to Caprera.

Eighteen months after Villafranca delegates from the whole of Italy, with the exception of Rome and Venice, were assembled at Turin, and took the oath of allegiance to Victor Emmanuel, as their legitimate King. It was no doubt a glorious day for Cavour when, taking his seat in Parliament, he could at length contemplate the work he had accomplished. The sight of so many strange faces must have carried him back to the day when, obscure and unpopular, he for the first time, on

the eve of Novara, raised his voice in the Piedmontese Assembly; and as the thought of what had been accomplished in the last twelve years passed through his mind, he must have been full of confidence for the future. He was still in the prime of life—but fifty-one years of age—and he might reasonably hope to have a large share in shaping the future of Italy.

But it was not to be. On the 29th of May, 1861, four months after the scene just referred to, the great statesman went to his home from a long and stormy session of Parliament, weary in body and depressed in spirit, and during the night was taken suddenly and violently ill. An intermittent fever followed, which terminated fatally on the morning of the 6th of June. The last words of Cavour, addressed to Father Giacomo, who had come to administer the supreme unction, were: *"Frate, frate, libera chiesa in libero stato"* (Brother, brother, a free Church in a free State).

In 1866 Venice was ceded to Italy by Austria, as one of the conditions of the peace made with Prussia after the battle of Königgrätz. When in 1870 the victory of Sedan had overthrown the French Emperor, the protectorate established over Rome by Napoleon was held to have come to an end, and Victor Emmanuel took possession of the Papal States. On the 20th of September he entered Rome, which now became his Capital. The life work of Count Cavour was thus finally consummated.

LEO XIII

1810

A PAPAL POLICY OF CONCILIATION

Vincenzo Gioacchino Pecci, who succeeded Pius IX in the Papacy as Leo XIII, was born March 2, 1810, at Carpineto, in the States of the Church. His father was Count Ludovico Pecci; his mother, Anna Prosperi, was a descendant of the celebrated Cola di Rienzi, "the last of the Roman Tribunes." At the age of eight years he was sent, together with his elder brother, Giuseppe, to the Jesuit College at Viterbo. At fourteen he entered the schools of the Roman College, which had been restored to the rule of the Jesuits.

The young Pecci was a remarkably precocious student. He wrote Latin, both prose and verse, at the age of twelve, and later turned with avidity and success to the study of the sciences. In mathematics and chemistry he became particularly proficient, taking in both the highest honors. Almost from the first Pecci showed himself as one to whom the management of men came by nature; and though he kept on writing poems, both in Latin and Italian, the unconscious bent of his mind was toward an active part on the great stage of the world.

On December 23, 1837, Pecci was received into the priesthood, and was at once put by Gregory XVI into active service, being appointed Apostolic Delegate at Benvenuto. In this position, though still young, he showed remarkable aptitude for the administration of

affairs. He set himself at work at once, and with success, to suppress brigandage, which at that time at Benvenuto, as elsewhere in Italy, and as still in Sicily, was winked at by the authorities and covertly fostered by some of the nobles and great landlords, who made their profit out of it. After a service of four years at Benvenuto Pecci was recalled to Rome by the Pope, and was sent to Spoleto—this being a promotion—and thence shortly after to Perugia.

Soon after this second promotion Pecci was appointed (1843) Nuncio to Brussels, having first been made, to qualify him for the post, Archbishop of Damietta—an office purely nominal. At the court of King Leopold he remained three years, and was then appointed Bishop of Perugia, at the earnest solicitation of the people of that place, whose esteem he had won during his short ministration among them. On his way homeward from Brussels Pecci visited London, where he was graciously received by Queen Victoria, particularly because of the high recommendation of Leopold. From London he passed on to Paris, and was there received with equal cordiality by Louis Philippe. He arrived in Rome just in time to hear of the death of his patron, Pope Gregory, and to learn that Cardinal Mastai Ferretti was raised to the Papal chair, under the title of Pius IX.

At Perugia Pecci labored, first as a Bishop—with, however, the title of Archbishop, previously bestowed upon him—and afterward as Cardinal, for more than thirty-two years, with indomitable energy and skill in the promotion of every good work which concerned religion, education, and the general welfare of the people. He established colleges, schools, hospitals, and all manner of charitable institutions, and withal, having a soul

for art and artistic decoration, he contrived to add new beauties to one of the most picturesque of the Italian cities.

In 1877 Cardinal Pecci was raised by Pope Pius to the dignified and important office of Cardinal Camerlingo (Chamberlain) of the Roman Church. In that capacity after the Pope's death (February 7, 1878) he had charge of all the arrangements for the solemn obsequies of the Pontiff, received the Catholic ambassadors, and made the preparations for the Conclave which was to choose a successor to Pius IX. The Conclave met February 18, 1878. On the 20th Cardinal Pecci received a majority of the sixty-one votes cast, and his election was then made unanimous. He was duly proclaimed Pope in St. Peters, and on March 3d he was crowned in the Sistine Chapel under the title of Leo XIII.

The new Pope lost no time in entering upon the more important duties of his office. On the 4th of March—the day after he was crowned—he published a bull establishing the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Scotland. This was simply carrying out the policy of his predecessor. Pius IX had already reëstablished the Catholic Church in England. The act had aroused at the time a frenzy of popular passion in that country. An act of Parliament had been passed declaring the hierarchical titles taken from English cities and districts to be illegal. But the agitation had very soon subsided. The act of Parliament had been quietly repealed; and now in England the Catholic Church stood on a firm basis. A similar, but less violent, outcry was now heard in Glasgow; the Pope's letter was publicly burned. But here, as in England, the Protestant animosity soon gave way to a more liberal state of mind. The Pope's letter was well

calculated to quiet the fears of the most distrustful. It spoke of the devotion which many of the Highland clans had displayed toward the Church of Rome in days of persecution, and it paid a special tribute of praise to England for the toleration which she now accorded to the members of that church. Thus the Pope began his reign in a spirit of the most genuine conciliation.

Advances were at once made to Germany, Russia, and Switzerland in the same temper. In all of these countries there had been in the reign of Pius a quarrel with the Vatican because of the manner in which the Pope considered the rights of the Catholics to have been invaded by the Government. The new Pope appealed to these States to reconsider calmly and dispassionately their mode of dealing with their Catholic population. He virtually said to them in the most friendly spirit: "Come, let us reason together," and in the end he succeeded in gaining all, or nearly all, he desired.

The most troublesome and difficult of these international involvements was on the side of Germany. The struggle known in Germany as the Kultur-Kampf had been bequeathed to Leo by his predecessor, and he at once took the initiative step for bringing it to a close. The Kultur-Kampf, or, in plain English, the Education-Fight, had been inaugurated by Prince Bismarck, who believed, or affected to believe, that the Catholics were the most dangerous enemies of the new German Empire, and that, in fact, the Pope had really been the prime mover in the war between France and Germany. The question in issue was whether the Catholic priesthood should owe an allegiance wholly alien to Germany, or should be brought under the supervision of the State. Particularly was the question raised respecting educational institutions, Bismarck determined—and he had a

strong backing of German sentiment—that no Catholic priest or professor who had not the sanction of the State authorities should teach in any German institution. The war began with a series of proscriptions against the Jesuits. In June, 1872, an act of Parliament in Prussia put the Society of Jesuits and every one of its members under the ban of the law. The order and all its affiliations were excluded from the territory of the Empire. But the war did not end here. In April, 1873, an act was promulgated which abolished the old laws giving to the Catholic Church in Prussia a right to self-government, and investing the State with the supreme control over the internal management of every ecclesiastical institution which professed to accept the spiritual guidance of the Vatican. The debates in the Prussian Parliament over this and subsequent proposed enactments soon attracted the attention of the whole civilized world. The Catholic party in the Parliament had an able champion in Dr. Windthorst, whose abilities won the admiration of Bismarck himself. But Bismarck had the German legions at his back, and opposition could amount to no more than earnest protest. The Catholic clergy stood by their cause, and were made martyrs. The Archbishops of Posen and Cologne, the Bishop of Treves, the Bishop of Paderborn, were thrown into prison for contumacy; and not only these prominent officials of the Church, but also a long list of curés, vicars, and other priests accepted imprisonment rather than be false to their principles. Where was this movement to end? So began at length to ask some even among the most determined opponents of the Catholic Church; while as to the Catholics themselves, persecution, as has ever been the case, only rendered them the more obstinate.

Of course there could be but one outcome to a strug-

gle of this kind in the Nineteenth Century; but it was none the less a matter which required skillful handling, and Leo XIII proved himself equal to the task. It is impossible in this short article to give with any detail the negotiations carried on between Berlin and the Vatican, extending over a period of ten years, which ended in a satisfactory adjustment of the matter in dispute—in a victory, we may say at once, for the Pontiff. We can note only the method and policy pursued by Leo. He opened the negotiations with a letter to the Emperor William, in which he expressed his great regret that the happy and friendly relations which up to late years existed between the Holy See and the Sovereign of Prussia should be interrupted. "We appeal," he went on to say, "to your Majesty's magnanimity in the hope of obtaining a restoration of peace and repose of conscience for a great number of your subjects—and the Catholic subjects of your Majesty will never fail to show themselves, as the faith which they profess ordains that they should do, with the most conscientious devotion, respectful and faithful toward your Majesty."

Nothing could be more conciliating than this letter. Observe, too, that the Pontiff presents the matter as one of conscience, and distinctly disavows any intention of the Church to interfere in any way with the affairs of Government. No doubt Bismarck would have much preferred to receive a thunderous protest from the Vatican—one which would have enabled him to present the issue as a conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism. But nothing of the sort; all that Leo demands is that the Catholics shall be left at liberty to manage their church affairs as seems to them best, without interference from the State, basing his demand on the broad principle of

religious tolerance; and from this position he never receded throughout the whole of the long controversy. He was quite willing that the names of young men called to the priesthood by the bishops should be communicated to the Government, before the canonical institution took place. But he made it a condition that the exiled ecclesiastics should be allowed to return under full amnesty. He also demanded that the Government should undertake to have the laws of 1873 revised, in some manner which should reconcile them to the principles of the Church, and should give back to the Church the direction of the religious education in its schools. All this he eventually obtained, though little by little, and not completely until after the accession of William II and the retirement of Bismarck.

All this time the Pope's personal relations both with the Emperor and Bismarck were cordially friendly. Bismarck named the Pope as his choice for arbiter in a dispute between Germany and Spain over one of the Caroline Islands; the Crown Prince Frederick, and after him his son William, then become Emperor, each paid the Pope a visit in the Vatican—all this before diplomatic intercourse between Germany and the Vatican had been restored. All recognized the sincerity and the upright motives of the Pontiff. Indeed, the change of opinion which had been effected in Germany, as elsewhere, by the liberality of the views to which he had given expression in his various encyclical letters, contributed largely toward his final triumph in the Kultur-Kampf. There had no doubt been in the beginning a sincere conviction in Germany that the Church was dangerous; but Leo's course had gone far to show that within the Church, as well as out of it, there was a for-

ward movement in the line of toleration in religion, and that henceforward the Church was disposed to ask no more than she herself would grant.

In France, also, after the downfall of Napoleon, trouble for the Church arose, very similar to that in Germany. The Catholics, as a body, were openly unfriendly to the new Republic. A large number of them, especially of the higher ranks, persisted in identifying monarchy with religion. They maintained that without monarchy there could be no protection or security for the Catholic faith in France. They determined, therefore, to hold aloof from the Republic, to abstain from using their votes on either side. In this attitude the Republicans saw danger of intrigue and conspiracy, and it is not surprising, therefore, that severe restrictive laws were enacted against the Catholics. These measures were not taken, however, until after the fall of Marshal MacMahon, in January, 1879, and the election of M. Grévy to the Presidency of the Republic. One of the enactments then made proscribed the Jesuits; another obliged all religious congregations of men and women to obtain, within three months, the authority of the State for their existence, or else to come under the same proscription as that assigned to the Jesuits. The sensation created all through France was something unparalleled. Parties divided on this question of religion, and one result was the resignation of M. Freycinet, the President of the Council, who deprecated the severity of the measures. M. Jules Ferry succeeded him in the Cabinet, and the decrees against the religious orders were then carried out in full force. In this state of affairs Leo addressed a letter to the President of the Republic, M. Grévy—a letter which was intended quite as much as an appeal to the world as to M. Grévy, who really had very

little power in the matter. In this letter the Pope reminds the President that the Holy See has never hesitated to support the French Government in its schemes for the welfare and advancement of France; he points out that the religious orders which had been expelled were invaluable in the hospitals and charitable institutions, on the field of battle itself, and in the spread of the faith and even of the French influence abroad, and especially in the East; that the removal of Catholic teachers from the schools deprived fathers of families of the privilege of exercising a choice in the matter of educating their children, and was therefore an invasion of personal rights, and this, too, in the face of the fact that thereby 32,000,000 of Catholics were deprived of religious education. These are some of the considerations urged upon the President.

M. Grévy, in his letter of reply, admits the justice of the Pope's appeal against the anti-religious feeling in France, but attributes its origin to the hostile attitude of a part of the clergy toward the Republic from its foundation to the present day, and points out that the remedy rests with the Pope rather than with himself.

For the time the matter rested there. Although the President expressed the hope of a peaceful termination of these disputes, there was for the present nothing further to be done.

The French question was, indeed, a perplexing one for the Pope. There could be no doubt as to the hostility of the more powerful of the French Catholics to the Republic. Should he side with them, or should he brave their criticism? There can be little doubt that he had made up his mind what to do; but he bided his time, and when the time came, when passion on both sides had become sufficiently allayed, he settled the

French dispute by acknowledging the Republic. The time chosen for taking this step was peculiarly opportune. It was the time when the indignation excited in France by the Panama scandals seemed to threaten the very existence of the Republic, so that the Pope may fairly be credited with having come to the assistance of the Government in a moment of peril. The acknowledgment came, however, in the form of a general and liberal principle applicable to all cases, first announced to the world generally in a speech made in November, 1890, by Cardinal Lavigerie, in Algiers. The vital portion of the speech was this: "When the will of a people is clearly affirmed, when the form of a government has nothing in it in contradiction to the principles which can alone keep life in nations, Christian and civilized, when in order to rescue it from the abyss which threatens it, adhesion without concealed thought is necessary for that form of government . . . . the moment has come to sacrifice all that conscience and honor permit and ordain that each of us shall sacrifice for the welfare of his country. . . . . It would be madness to hope to sustain the pillars of an edifice without entering into the edifice itself, were it only to prevent those who destroy everything from accomplishing their insane work."

Henceforward it was understood that Leo had ranged himself on the side of the Republic, not necessarily because that form of government was his preference, but because it was the established form, and the welfare of society demanded its support. Nor was this acknowledgment designed to affect in any way the personal preferences of any of the Catholic clergy or laity in France. They were not asked to renounce their faith in monarchy, if such they had; they were simply

counseled to array themselves heartily on the side of the power that was.

In view of the intense interest excited in France and elsewhere by his attitude, Leo consented to submit to what no Pope before him had ever submitted—to be interviewed. He consented to give an audience to a representative of the *Petit Journal* of France. Among other things which he then said for publication was this: "My desire is that France should be happy and prosperous, that divisions should cease as far as possible. My conviction is that all French citizens should reunite on constitutional grounds. Each one, of course, can keep up his personal preference, but when it comes to political action, there is only the government which France has given to herself. The Republic is a form of government just as legitimate as any other." These are the words of a man who is able to rise above petty strife and party intrigue and to take a commanding view of things, a view as extensive as humanity itself.

Such a man Leo showed himself to be in many ways. In December, 1878, he issued an encyclical letter concerning modern errors—Socialism, Communism, and Nihilism. Naturally and necessarily the Pope ascribed all the evils of these modern errors to the fact that so much of modern society has "cast away the supernatural truths of faith as being contrary to reason." After disposing of this fundamental cause, as he conceived it to be, he came down to the more specific causes in the misuse of wealth, of extravagant luxury, of selfish millionaires, of capitalists who care nothing but for the accumulation of money. In this first encyclical of the Pope there was nothing to which any member of any non-Catholic religious denomination could object, except the Pope's assumption that the Church of Rome is the

inspired teacher of morals and of religion. For the rest, this letter proclaimed doctrines and precepts with which educated and reasonable men all over the world are likely to agree. He insisted upon the necessity of all who are in authority, and all who are rich doing everything in their power to mitigate the suffering of the poor, to see that the laborer shall have his hire, and to lighten the load of the heavy laden. Thus, as will be seen, while Leo condemned without qualification the avowed principles of the Communists and Nihilists, he maintained that there were two sides to the question. He insisted that the remedy against socialism was not to be found "in the strong hand of civil power or in military force." We must "lighten the load of the heavy laden," and reëstablish the principles of morality and religion. The appeal is that of the head of the Roman Church; but it is also the pronouncement of a statesman and a philanthropist, and of one who has made the social questions of the day a study, and whose heart went out in sympathy with the suffering of his fellow men.

Leo was deeply interested, as is every philanthropic man, in all the questions that concern the wage-earner. His natural sympathy for the poor and down trodden did not blind him, however, to the fact that there are two sides to the labor question; but he was also convinced that a great moral and religious influence must be brought to bear if the question was to have a satisfactory solution. As to labor unions, while he certainly did not disapprove of them, except in the case of secret societies, he continually warned those delegates from such associations who called upon him, against the danger of expecting too much. In one notable instance Pope Leo was called upon to give his opinion as to the claims and course of action adopted by an American association of working men—

the Knights of Labor. Notwithstanding that the association had the strong indorsement of Cardinal Gibbons, it failed to secure the unqualified approval of the Pope. Still he was by no means opposed to the movement for the organization of labor within legitimate limits. He recognized that Capital had its rights as well as Labor.

Leo's action in condemning the Land League of Ireland, both morally and socially, gave great offense to the Irish Catholics, and it was loudly asserted that he had been influenced by the Catholics of England, who belonged mostly to the wealthy class, and had no sympathy with the struggling Irish peasantry. But the charge is doubtless unjust. The impartial observer can see that he condemned the League not because he disapproved of its purpose, not because it was offensive to England, but because its methods led to crime. No one can doubt—no calm observer among the Irish Nationalists ever did doubt—that Pope Leo had the warmest sympathy for oppressed and struggling Ireland, and that it was really his affection for Ireland that inspired the condemnation of the Land League.

We of America have reason for a special interest in Pope Leo XIII. Although the Catholic Church has from the first had a firm foothold in the United States, and has grown and expanded with the growth of the country, it is only recently that it was brought into close and direct relationship with Rome by the establishment of an Apostolic delegation in America. Monsignor Satolli was the first head of the delegation, which was created in the early part of 1893.

Happily the dread of the ever growing power of the Catholic Church in this country—a dread which has from time to time been an element in our national politics—has practically ceased to exist. And to no single Pontiff is

the removal of this dread so largely due as to Leo XIII. We have heard proclaimed from the Vatican, marvelous though it seems, the broad principle of religious toleration. We have seen Leo in his dealings both with Germany and France disavowing most unequivocally any design of the Church to interfere with the affairs of secular government—declaring that while the Church must be independent in order that it may do its work for humanity unimpeded, it still owes its best support in every country to the recognized government thereof. And the work of this great Church, whose empire embraces the entire earth, what is it? Primarily it is to impart religious instruction. We may not all entirely approve of its dogmas; but we can let that pass. The Catholic Church has also taken upon itself the oversight over morality, and a care for the general welfare of humanity, and we all know how thoroughly, with its vast organization and its abundant wealth, this great work is done. In the prosecution of this work Pope Leo XIII was especially and earnestly zealous; he was above all things else, a great philanthropist.

A few words may be said about the habits and personality of Leo. The first singularity, if so it may be called, to strike us is that, like his predecessor, Pius IX, he persisted in regarding himself a prisoner in the Vatican, never going beyond its garden walls. We all know the story—how after the fall of Napoleon at Sedan Victor Emmanuel swooped down upon Rome, took it from the Pope, and made it the capital of Italy. Pius IX never forgave Victor Emmanuel, nor did Leo XIII. Neither would establish diplomatic relations with the King of Italy. How long is this farce to be kept up? we may well inquire. No rational person now doubts that the temporal power of the Popes has departed forever.

The eminent novelist, Mr. Marion Crawford, has given to the world in the *Century Magazine* an interesting account of the Pope, from which are taken the following items relating to his personal appearance:

"Leo XIII was born and bred in the keen air of the Volscian Hills, a southern Italian, but of the mountains, and there is still something about him of the hill people. He has the long, lean, straight, broad-shouldered frame of the true mountaineer, the marvelously bright eye, the eagle features, the well-knit growth of strength, traceable even in extreme old age. . . . His voice, neither deep nor full, is wonderfully clear and ringing. . . . His enunciation is exceedingly clear, both in Latin and Italian, and also in French, a language in which he expresses himself with ease and clearness. . . . His bearing is erect at all times, and on days when he is well his step is quick as he moves about his private apartments." Add to this sketch a face of almost marble whiteness, and we have a fair picture of Leo XIII.

BISMARCK

1815-1898

THE FORGING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

Otto Edward Leopold von Bismarck was born at Schönhausen, in the old Mark of Brandenburg—the core of modern Prussia—on April 1, 1815. The Bismarck family is both old and distinguished. It was ennobled as early as the middle of the Fourteenth Century, and has always held a foremost rank among the fighting noblesse of Brandenburg. Several of the Bismarcks fought in the Thirty Years' War, some on the side of the Emperor, some on the side of the Swedes. Moreover, Bismarck could reckon among his ancestors Field Marshal Von Derflinger, the conqueror of the Swedes, General von Zieten, and Lieutenant Katte, whose savage execution by Frederick William I formed such a tragic incident in the life of Frederick the Great.

But Bismarck's forefathers were not distinguished alone for their fighting qualities. Most of his paternal ancestors, says one of his biographers, "had been mighty hunters and drinkers before the Lord." His great grandfather, in particular—who fell in one of the battles of the Seven Years' War—had in one year slain as many as 154 red-deer, and his toasts were usually accompanied by trumpet blasts and carbine volleys across the table from a section of his troopers. The Chancellor was supposed to be the very image of this stormful dragoon-major. "So much so, indeed, that when gazing upon his portrait, it was like looking at my own face in the glass."

The mother of Bismarck, Louise Wilhelmina Menken, was the only commoner who had ever married into the family. But if she did not bring the Bismarcks blood, she brought them what was better—brains; for the future Chancellor is said to have inherited much of his intellectual capacity from his mother.

So far, then, as parentage is concerned, young Otto von Bismarck had a capital start in life. At the tender age of six he was placed in a boarding school at Berlin, conducted on the Pestalozzi system; and from this, at the age of twelve, he passed to the Grey Friars Gymnasium, or Board School. From this institution he passed, in his seventeenth year, to the University of Göttingen.

Bismarck's university life was of the sort which finds more favor with students than with professors. Reading, carousing, dueling were its essential features. In his first semester he was twice fined, once for heaving a bottle out at the window, once for smoking on the street, and he was at least twice sentenced to the "carcer," or University jail. He stayed at Göttingen three semesters—from May, 1832, to November, 1833—and then left to continue his studies at Berlin; and it is on record that at the time of leaving he was under a sentence of four days for having taken part in a duel.

Having completed his course of study at Berlin, Bismarck passed the very rigid examination which enabled him to enter the civil service of the State. He began his bureaucratic life as official reporter to one of the Berlin tribunals. He was then given a higher position at Aix-la-Chapelle, and from there after a while was transferred to the Crown Office at Potsdam. While here he entered the Jäger, or Sharpshooter, Battalion of the Guards, to perform his required one year's term of military service. At the same time he attended lectures on agriculture and

kindred subjects, having determined to quit the civil service and to settle down to the life of a country squire. In the next eight years we find him leading a free life in the country—farming, hunting, soldiering, carousing, studying, and occasionally rubbing off the rust of country life with excursions into the great world. On one of these excursions he visited England. On the death of his father, in 1845, he settled at his native Schönhausen, which had fallen to him in the division of the family property.

In July, 1847, Bismarck was married to Johanna, daughter of Heinrich von Puttkamer. The union proved an eminently happy one. "You know little what this woman has done for me," he once said to Signor Crispi, when talking of his wife.

Bismarck made his first appearance in national politics as a substitute deputy to the so-called United Diet, which Frederick William IV, yielding reluctantly to the spirit of the times, summoned to Berlin in February, 1847. This Diet, made up of delegates from the eight Provincial Diets, was called ostensibly to deliberate on the subject of a Constitution; but really it was no more than a sop thrown to a discontented people. The King swore roundly that no "sheet of paper should ever intervene between the Lord God in Heaven and his subjects." Herr Bismarck, now in his thirty-second year, could respond to this declaration with a hearty *Amen*. Prussia, he argued in the Assembly, had done excellently well under her *régime* of divine right, and well enough should be let alone. The Diet sat for three months and was dismissed. Bismarck was heartily glad that the King had refused to listen to its advice.

A good beginning this for the future counselor of William I. We must hurry over the events of these preliminary years. The Paris Revolution of 1848, was echoed in Berlin. A bloody encounter occurred in the streets there

between the royal troops and the citizens. Bismarck hurried from Schönhausen to Potsdam, where the King's troops were stationed, and his voice with the military was for an advance on the capital. The King vacillated. The Prince, his brother, afterward Emperor William I, fled to England. The outcome of it all was that the King called a second Union Diet. The Diet paved the way for a Constituent Assembly. This ended by being dispersed with bayonets. Then the King himself, sick of the quarreling and anarchy, granted Prussia on his own authority a Constitution modeled on that of Belgium. At the same time he summoned a Parliament, consisting of two chambers, the first of its kind in Prussia, to ratify the new charter.

Bismarck was a member of this Parliament, having sought and obtained a seat in it in compliance with the express wish of the King. The spirit with which he entered into its debates may be gathered from a single extract from one of his speeches, as reported:

"He hoped that this was the last time the achievements of the Prussian sword would be given away with generous hand in order to appease the insatiable demand of a phantom which, under the name of the spirit of the time or public opinion, stupefied with its deafening clamor the reason of princes and people till each grew afraid of the other's shadow, and forgot that beneath the lion's skin of the specter there was only a very innocuous animal." This was Bismarck's way of looking at "public opinion" in 1850.

Throughout Germany there had long existed a desire to see the various States united into a single Nation. The present seemed a favorable opportunity for taking an initial step in this direction. Delegates chosen in the several States by universal suffrage met at Frankfort, April, 1848, to discuss this question of national unity. In the

course of a year's deliberation and wrangling they elaborated what they were pleased to call a National Constitution, but which Bismarck contemptuously characterized as a "transcript of the parchment of Magna Charta on Continental blotting paper." The figure-head of this new national government was to be styled Emperor. The position was offered to the King of Prussia, who emphatically declined to accept it, for one reason, with others, that the movement was purely a popular one and was not countenanced by any of the Sovereigns of the States. Both Frederick and Bismarck were earnest for national unity; but to neither was it acceptable in this shape. Here is Bismarck's objection, as it was declared in the Prussian Parliament:

"The Frankfort Constitution," he said, "bore upon its brow the broad impress of popular sovereignty, and invited the King to hold his free crown as a mere fief from the people, which simply meant the extinction of his power."

Bismarck, in 1849, would have had the Emperor of Germany invested with the power exercised, as a "divine right," by the King of Prussia. Such views naturally endeared him to the King. It is interesting to note here that the Constitution which he finally accepted for United Germany is essentially that which he spurned in 1849. The present Kaiser of Germany is simply an executive officer—a mere figure-head, powerless to initiate measures and without the power to veto an act of the Reichstag. Bismarck was wiser in 1870 by twenty years, than when the Frankfort Convention met—which is not at all to his discredit.

Frederick William now entered into a treaty with Hanover and Saxony with a view of forming a federation of the German States apart from Austria. But this move toward unification also met the disapproval of Bismarck.

He indicated plainly his opinion that the consolidation should be effected by the sword, not by treaty. "We all desire," he said, "to behold the Prussian eagle spread its protecting and controlling pinions from the Memel to the Donnersberg; but free we wish to see it, not fettered by a new Diet of Ratisbon." And in the diary of a friend he wrote, about this time, "Our watchword must not be Federal State at any price, but integrity of the Prussian crown at any price."

The Three-king alliance resulted in another National Parliament, held at Erfurt, in the spring of 1850. Bismarck went to this convention as a representative of Prussia. Another Constitution for united Germany was elaborated, this time with the sanction of the Sovereigns. But this Constitution, like that of Frankfort, was unacceptable to Prussia.

"Gentlemen," said Bismarck to the assembled delegates, "if you do not make more concessions to the Prussian, the old Prussian spirit, call it what you please, than you hitherto have done in this Constitution, then I do not believe in its realization." Nor was it realized.

But perhaps the result would have been different had not Prussia and Austria just at this time come within an ace of going to war over a quarrel which had broken out between them in Hesse-Cassel. The crisis was averted by the intervention of the Czar Nicholas. The Treaty of Olmütz was signed by the two Powers. By the terms of this convention Prussia bound herself to abandon her schemes of national unity, and to accept the restoration of the old German Bund, under the leadership of Austria.

This treaty was loudly denounced by the Liberals in the Prussian Chamber; but it was warmly supported by Bismarck, who declared that, "If Prussia had gone to war

for her Union idea . . . she would only have resembled the Englishman who fought a victorious combat with a sentinel in order to be able to hang himself in the sentry-box." He was opposed to Unionism on the lines laid down at Frankfort and Erfurt. In other words, the union of Germany, when it came, must be simply an expansion of Prussia. But even at this time, wrote his friend Herr Wagener, editor of the *Kreuz-Zeitung*, Bismarck "cherished schemes which could only gradually come to be executed."

From May, 1851, to January, 1859, Bismarck was Prussia's representative in the newly-resuscitated Diet, which met at Frankfort. He went to the Diet rather disposed to be the friend of Austria; but her domineering attitude, her continual intrigues with the smaller States against the interests of Prussia, convinced him that a conflict in arms between the two countries was inevitable, and that thus only could be established a lasting peace in Germany. For this reason he exerted himself in the Diet, and successfully, to keep Prussia and the other German States from uniting their fortunes with Austria against Russia in the Crimean War (1854); and after the close of the war he strongly counseled his Government to court the friendship of Napoleon. Already he was scheming for the neutrality, if not the alliance, of Russia and France when the inevitable war with Austria should come.

One of Bismarck's fellow students at Göttingen—one with whom he formed a very close friendship—was an American, John Lothrop Motley. The following extract from a letter written by Mr. Motley, who had returned to Europe to pursue his historical studies and renewed acquaintance with his old friend Bismarck, gives us a very interesting picture of the home-life of the future unifier of Germany at this time:

"The Bismarcks are as kind as ever. It is one of those houses where every one does what one likes. The show apartments where they receive formal company are on the front of the house. Their living rooms, however, are a salon and dining-room at the back, opening upon the garden. Here there are young and old, grandparents and children and dogs all at once; eating, drinking, smoking, piano playing and pistol firing (in the garden), all going on at the same time. It is one of those establishments where every earthly thing that can be eaten or drunk is offered you; porter, soda water, small beer, champagne, burgundy or claret are about all the time, and everybody is smoking the best Havana cigars every minute."

In one of these years Bismarck made a flying trip to Paris, where he first made the personal acquaintance of Napoleon, as well as of Queen Victoria, at a grand ball given in her Majesty's honor at Versailles. He seems to have been impressed favorably by the Emperor and was pleased to note that "in comparison with other foreigners we Prussians were treated with great consideration."

In 1858 Frederick William broke down mentally and his brother, Prince William of Prussia, became Regent. The Prince, not altogether pleased with Bismarck's hostile attitude toward Austria, removed him from the Diet and sent him as Ambassador to St. Petersburg—"put him in ice," as was Bismarck's own comment on the change.

Bismarck remained at St. Petersburg about three years. He at once became a favorite here with everybody from the Czar down, as a known opponent of Austria and of the anti-Russian Liberalism of Prussia. Moreover, he flattered the Russians by learning a little of their language, while he won their admiration no less by his skill as a rifle-shot than "by his doughtiness as a diner-out and a capacity to drink all his boon companions under the table."

During this honorable banishment of Bismarck from Germany occurred the Franco-Austrian War in Italy (in the summer of 1859). The time had come, in the opinion of Bismarck, to vindicate for Prussia her proper position of authority in Germany. Great was his disgust, therefore, to learn from Berlin, directly after the battle of Magenta, that the authorities there, contrary to his advice, were preparing, not to impede Austria, but to give her the support of a strong military force; in other words, to invade France, and anger the very man he was counting on in his proposed war upon Austria. Luckily, from his point of view, Austria and Prussia could not agree as to which should exercise the supreme military command, and in the meantime Napoleon hurried matters, won the battle of Solferino, and, with his eye upon Prussia, arranged terms with Francis Joseph at Villafranca. The whole affair was over so quickly that nothing serious for Bismarck's plans happened; but for a few weeks he was on pins and needles. Many thought at the time that Bismarck had an understanding with Napoleon. This may have been. But of one thing we may be certain; Bismarck would never have bought the alliance of Napoleon against Austria at the price of the left bank of the Rhine, as Count Cavour bought it by the surrender of Savoy and Nice.

In January, 1861, the demented King of Prussia died and his brother ascended the throne, as William I. Bismarck had been one of the Prince's chief advisers, and many expected to see the Russian Ambassador now called to the Cabinet. He was, indeed, called home for consultation; but the King could not yet decide to give him a portfolio. Events soon decided the matter for him, however. William wished to increase his army—to double it, in fact. The Chamber objected. A conflict ensued be-

tween the Crown and the Chamber, ending in the dissolution of the latter, and at the same time the dismissal of the Cabinet. Bismarck was again sent for; but he was not yet ready to undertake the task of "Parliament-Tamer." He pleaded poor health; and, moreover, he hinted that before taking on the Ministerial harness he would like to know more about the "man of destiny." Accordingly, he was transferred from St. Petersburg to Paris. This was in the spring of 1862.

Bismarck did not long enjoy the beauties of France, with its health-giving idleness at Bordeaux, Biarritz, Bayonne and other holiday resorts. About the middle of September he received a telegram calling him back post-haste to Berlin. The Chamber had again rejected the King's demands, and his Majesty had replied by appointing Bismarck to the Presidency of the Cabinet.

"When I arrived in Berlin on September 19, 1862," said Bismarck, relating these events thirty years later, "summoned by his Majesty from Paris, his abdication lay already signed on his writing table. I refused to take office. The document was ready to be handed to the Crown Prince. He asked me whether I was prepared to govern against the majority of the national representation even without a budget. I answered 'Yes,' and the letter of abdication was destroyed." A fortnight later, Bismarck tells us, the King showed signs of weakening. "The Queen had pointed to the lessons of history. I pointed to the Prussian officer's sword which he wore," and in the end "the officer's sword had carried the day and I had won back my King."

And now was inaugurated the policy of "Blood and Iron," or in other words, a government which, sustained by bayonets, dared to override the Constitution. True, the excited Liberals in the Chamber declared that Prus-

sians would never draw the sword against any but a foreign enemy. But the thing was not so certain, and luckily it was never put to the test. Bismarck took the machinery of the Government into his own hands; he collected the revenues and appropriated them as he saw fit. Why not? Here was a state of things for which the Constitution had not provided—by a mere oversight, for surely it had never been intended that one of the three coördinate branches of the Government should be able to stop the working of the Governmental machine. So reasoned the Prime Minister. When the Chamber became too noisy, it was dissolved and replaced by another. The rumpus extended beyond the walls of the Chamber. The press added to the clamor; the press was muzzled. Bismarck became quickly the best-hated man in Germany. And right in the midst of these occurrences happened a revolt in Russian Poland. The affair was menacing to Prussia, and Bismarck promptly arranged with the Czar to help him in putting down the revolt. Directly a howl was heard in the West—in England and even in France. Lord John Russell protested in behalf of indignant England, and demanded a copy of the convention with the Czar. Bismarck virtually told Sir John to mind his own business, and, in fact, the British Minister had no ground on which to stand, for the revolting Poles had never been accorded belligerent rights, and were simply rebels. Napoleon was brought around by means of a commercial treaty which favored France, effected in spite of the intrigues of Austria.

Austria began to grow ugly. After having proposed to Prussia several schemes of reform, which Bismarck would not accept, she called, in the summer of 1863, a grand meeting of the German Sovereigns at Frankfort, for the purpose of discussing her schemes. Prussia

declined to accept the invitation to the Congress, and in consequence received notice, in effect, that she must withdraw from the German Confederacy. The conflict which Bismarck knew must come, and which he had yearned for so long, seemed on the point of breaking out, when there happened an occurrence which not only prevented it, but, more surprising still, caused a temporary alliance between Prussia and Austria.

The Schleswig-Holstein question is altogether too large and too complicated to be treated of here. Fortunately, all that we need to know is that these two Duchies, the population of which was German, had been placed by the "London Treaty" under the protection of the Danish Crown, and that in 1863 the Danish Parliament passed a law incorporating one of them, Schleswig, with the Kingdom of Denmark. Prussia and Austria were both parties to the London Treaty; and now, despite the fact that the German Diet refused to sanction an interference in behalf of Schleswig, Bismarck persuaded Austria to join with Prussia in a war upon Denmark. The Prussian Chamber refused to grant the necessary supplies. But for that he cared nothing, exclaiming in the Chamber, *"Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo."* (If I cannot bend the gods, I will rouse the lower world.)

The Austro-Prussian War with Denmark occurred in the spring of 1864. It ended in the defeat of Denmark. Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg (another German Duchy, under the protectorate of the Danish Crown), were taken away from Denmark. And now arose the question, What should be done with them? The Prussians and Austrians began at once to squabble over the matter. Finally, they reached (August, 1865) an agreement which virtually vested the sovereignty of Schleswig in Prussia, and of Holstein in Austria; while

King William bought out Austria's claim upon Lauenburg for half a million of dollars. At the same time he rewarded his "blood and iron" Minister with the title of Count.

Bismarck was still ruling without a Budget, his conflict with the Chamber had risen to a fiercer pitch than ever, and public feeling ran so high against him that a young man, Ferdinand Cohen, or Blind, constituting himself the exponent of this feeling, attempted to shoot the Minister President as he was passing down the Linden. The Chamber clamored for the independence of the Duchies; it refused to vote supplies for the creation of a fleet; it pronounced null and void the agreement by which the King had become possessed of Lauenburg. The Chamber was again dissolved. It was a time of the greatest confusion and excitement; but in the midst of all these storms and dangers, Bismarck stood unflinchingly firm to his purpose, bending everyone to his own inflexible will.

The convention between Austria and Prussia relating to Schleswig and Holstein had hardly been signed when both parties began to violate its terms. Within six months, so great had the friction between the two powers become, that both began to arm with more or less secrecy for the war which was now inevitable. Among other military preparations now made by Bismarck was the forming of a secret treaty with Italy. Venice was to be the price of Italy's assistance when the war with Austria should break out. Louis Napoleon, perceiving the drift of affairs, entered into secret negotiations with both Prussia and Austria, in the hope of getting, in whatever way the war might end, a good slice of Prussia's possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. At the same time he posed as a peacemaker, proposing a Peace Congress, which,

however, though favored by Prussia, was rejected by Austria.

All was now ready for springing the mine upon which Bismarck had been at work for years. The only question remaining was where and when the match should be applied. The Austrians soon settled this point by making a move in Holstein which Bismarck declared to be in violation of the agreement and of the joint rights of Prussia. A body of Prussians at once entered Holstein (early in June, 1866), and drove out the Austrians. A few days later the armies of both Powers were in motion. Before the close of the month the Prussians had won brilliant victories in Hanover and Saxony; General von Moltke had astonished Europe with his splendid strategy; the Prussian army had won admiration for its perfect organization and discipline; and the needle gun seemed to have made a revolution in warfare. On the 3rd of July was fought the greatest of modern battles, near Königgrätz, in Bohemia—greatest in point of numbers (about 430,000 men) and greatest in its political results. Austria was overwhelmingly defeated, and Prussia became at once the leading State in Germany.

King William and Bismarck were both with the army at Königgrätz, or Sadowa, as this field was called by the Austrians. On the day after the battle the King received a telegram from Napoleon announcing that the Emperor of Austria had already ceded to him Venice, as in trust for Italy, and offering his services as a mediator to prevent further bloodshed. An armistice was arranged a few days later, and on July 26 preliminary terms of peace were signed at Nikolsburg, which became the basis of the Treaty of Prague, signed August 23, 1866. By the terms of this treaty Austria withdrew from the German Confederacy. Venetia was ceded to Italy. The territories

of Prussia were increased by the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the Free City of Frankfort. Austria paid to Prussia a war indemnity of forty million thalers, and the South German States, which had fought with Austria, were mulcted in proportionate sums. These States were assured of political independence, it being the hope and expectation of Bismarck that eventually they would ally themselves with Prussia.

Such were the general results of the German War, of which the closing scene was formed by the triumphal entry (September 20) of King William and his victorious troops into Berlin. In this pageant Bismarck rode, with Moltke and Roon, in front of the King, and was frantically cheered by the people who had but a short time before loaded him with the bitterest abuse. They were beginning to understand the purpose of this man of "blood and iron."

The Chamber now hastened to pass a bill of indemnity on all the Budgetless and other irregular acts of the Government during the "conflict time." Furthermore, it granted a credit of fifty million thalers to defend, if need be, what had now been won. A million and a half thalers were voted for distribution among the chief actors in the war. The largest share, 400,000 thalers, was allotted to Bismarck; with a part of this money he purchased the fine estate of Varzin, that was now to become his "Pomeranian Tusculum."

In February, 1867, a Convention consisting of delegates elected by universal suffrage in all of the States north of the Main—twenty-two in number—met at Berlin to form the Constitution for a new Confederacy of these States. Their work was completed in less than two months. Each State, under the new Constitution, was

accorded home rule in its own affairs. National affairs were entrusted to a legislature consisting of two branches, a Council, representing the allied Sovereigns, and a Reichstag, representing the people. Bismarck, under the title of Bundeskanzler, or Federal Chancellor, became the sole responsible Minister. The King of Prussia, as *ex officio* President of the Cabinet of the Council, became the executive chief.

Germany had now fairly entered upon her career of national existence. It remained only to bring into the Confederacy at the proper time the outstanding Southern States and to give finally a more dignified title to the President of the Cabinet. This was Bismarck's work during the next four years. The chief obstacle which he encountered was the French Emperor. Napoleon had set his heart upon extending France to the Rhine. To do this he must get possession, by bargain or otherwise, of certain territories which belonged to Prussia. The first slice which he sought to obtain was Mayence, which he demanded of Bismarck directly after the Treaty of Prague, as the price of his neutrality during the war and his good offices in the peace negotiations. The demand was virtually an ultimatum. But Bismarck refused to listen to it; he declared that he would accept the alternative and fight if need be, and the demand was withdrawn. Later came an attempt by Napoleon to get Luxembourg, which, though German, owed a certain allegiance to Holland. Here again Napoleon had to measure wits with Bismarck, and was worsted. It was the way in which Napoleon was defeated by Bismarck in all his attempts to carry out his pet project, which led to his determination to try as a last resort the fortunes of war. His own position in France had become precarious. Some great success of foreign policy was needed to prop his waning

prestige. He had failed with Bismarck; he must try Moltke.

A trivial matter, which under ordinary circumstances could easily have been adjusted—an invitation extended to one of the Hohenzollerns to ascend the vacant throne of Spain, and which was *not* accepted—afforded a pretext, and Napoleon declared war upon Prussia (July 19, 1870). The result, so far as he was concerned, was the crushing defeat at Sedan on the 1st of September, and the overthrow of his Empire. On the following day Napoleon was the prisoner of King William, and it was Bismarck to whom he had surrendered. "In a small, one-windowed room," said Bismarck, "with a deal table and two rush-bottomed chairs, we sat alone for about an hour, a great contrast to our last meeting at the Tuileries in 1867. Our conversation was a difficult thing, wanting, as I did, to avoid touching on topics which could not but painfully affect the man whom God's almighty hand had cast down."

Four months and a half later a very different scene was enacted at Versailles. The German army was then besieging Paris. A deputation from the Reichstag had besought his Majesty, King William, "to consecrate the work of unification by accepting the Imperial crown." The Southern States had at last applied for admission into the Confederation of the North, and by their action, German unity had become complete. Bismarck, it should be said, had all along been careful not to appear to bring any pressure upon these States, believing that they would in the end enter the national fold of their own free will. There was some question as to the title to be employed; but "Deutscher Kaiser" was finally agreed upon, and as such William I was solemnly proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors of Versailles on January 18, 1871, the anniver-

sary of the day on which Frederick, the first King of Prussia, had crowned himself at Königsberg, in 1701.

All the negotiations with the French through their ambassadors sent successively to the conquering Germans —first M. Jules Favre and afterward M. Gambetta and Thiers, and with the peace commissioners—were conducted, of course, by Bismarck. The preliminary terms of peace were signed at Versailles on the 26th of February. The conditions were the cession to Germany of Alsace, including Strasburg, a part of Lorraine with Metz, and a war indemnity of five milliard francs ($1,000,000,000). The preliminary treaty was duly ratified by the French Assembly at Bordeaux on the 8th of March. A few days later Bismarck had returned to Berlin as Imperial German Chancellor, with a bigger and quicker record of achievement than had been made by any man of his time. Eight years before William had summoned him from Paris to Berlin to make him a Minister. He had returned the compliment by summoning the King from Berlin to Paris to make him an Emperor.

The great constructive work of Bismarck had now been accomplished. The independent German States had been forged, with Prussia as a core, into a compact Empire. Henceforward for nearly twenty years Bismarck appeared in a new rôle. His war days were over; he became, to use his own expression, a *Friedensfanatiker*, a "fanatic for peace." His mission, as he understood it, was to preserve the peace of Europe. To this end all his influence, all the powers of his judgment were directed. Germany had demonstrated her military strength, but in a purely defensive war; she had no lust for conquest, for, though she had taken from France Alsace and Lorraine, she had only taken that which was hers by right. The Nations of Europe understood this, and therefore the rise

in their midst of this mighty German Empire was no source of alarm. The new Kaiser William was neither a Charles V nor a Napoleon I, and the peaceful intentions of the great Chancellor of the Empire came also to be universally recognized.

The most difficult task which Bismarck had now to perform was to soothe the wounded sensibilities of France; and he found it necessary at times to exercise the greatest forbearance. Yet he steadily adhered to his purpose of facilitating in every way to the French the performance of their peace conditions. "It is not our aim," he said, in the Reichstag, "to injure our neighbor more than is absolutely necessary to assure for us the execution of the Treaty of Peace, but, on the contrary, to help and enable him as far as we can do without detriment to our own interests, to recover from the disaster that has befallen his country." In pursuance of this policy, for example, he agreed to accept financial security for the payment of the second milliard—a concession which had the effect of reducing the army of occupation left in France to only 50,000 men; and this was followed (December, 1871) by the restoration of regular diplomatic relations between the two countries.

It is impossible in a sketch of this character to go into the details of a policy extending over so many years. A few points only can be selected by way of illustrating the work done. In the autumn of 1872 Bismarck had the satisfaction of seeing the accomplishment of one of his most cherished schemes—a meeting of the three Emperors, together with their Chancellors, at Berlin. Austria and Russia had consented to forgive their mutual hostility of 1854, while the still more recent breach between Prussia and Austria had been effectually closed up. The meeting was the work of Bismarck. The "Three Emperor

League" was hailed throughout Europe, not as a menace, but as a sign of peace. Later came the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria, and Italy, also the work of Bismarck, and also in the interest of peace. In the course of these twenty years events occurred which strained the relations of the several European Powers. The Eastern Question, with Bulgaria at its core, was ever looming up. Austria became estranged from Russia; and Russia at the Berlin Congress, called to settle questions raised by the Peace of San Stefano, felt herself badly treated, and for a time became estranged from Germany. Bismarck's skillful hand was always at work to bring about reconciliation in such cases as quickly as possible, never to ferment a quarrel. He seemed to have a peculiar genius for this work. As a single instance, when in 1879 the relations between Germany and Russia had become so strained —not, however, through any fault of his—that war between the two countries seemed inevitable—when several Russian Grand Dukes were spending their summer in Paris in ostentatious intimacy with French statesmen, and the heart of the Kaiser was nearly broken at the thought of a war with his nephew, Bismarck slipped down to Vienna, talked the matter over with Count Andrassy, and the result was a quiet little arrangement that if Russia should attack either one of the two Empires, then the other should assist in repelling the aggressor with all its military force. It was a purely defensive alliance in the interest of peace; and care was taken that a knowledge of it should reach Russia. It had the desired effect. Russia paused; and in good time friendly relations with Germany were restored.

But while Bismarck was eminently successful in his foreign policy, he was not in all respects lucky in his management of internal affairs. The Kultur-Kampf, which

was virtually a war with Rome, is mentioned elsewhere in this volume* and is only alluded to here as one contest into which Bismarck entered without his usual discretion, and in which he was fairly beaten. The conflict quickly assumed the nature of a religious persecution, and it could only, of course, have one ending; yet he persisted in prolonging the struggle, yielding little by little, for ten years.

We now come to the year 1890, and the month of March. The young Kaiser William II had not then been two years upon the throne. His grandfather, William I, had died in March, 1888, and his father, Frederick III, had reigned but three months. So far as the public had been able to judge, the relations between the new Kaiser and the "Iron Chancellor" had been most cordial, and it caused therefore no little surprise when the old and faithful Minister, the constructor of the Empire, in this month of March left Berlin and went into retirement at Friedrichsruh—an estate, by the way, given to Bismarck by the old Kaiser at the same time that he conferred upon him the title of Prince, directly after the Peace of Paris. It was generally supposed, however, that he had resigned of his own volition; but the ex-Chancellor had not been many days in retirement when he used the word *dismissal* with reference to his retirement from office, and later the fact came out that the Chancellor had, indeed, been compelled to resign.

It soon became apparent that he deeply resented his dismissal. He made no secret of the fact. He, the trusted repository of all the State secrets of his time, began to reveal to his visitors, even the newspaper reporters, things which ought not to be told—which tended to disturb the relations of Germany to foreign powers. Within two

*See Leo XIII.

months after Bismarck left Berlin, his Majesty authorized his new Chancellor, General Caprivi, to address a circular to all the representatives of Germany abroad, requesting them to discount the damaging effect of the Prince's revelations and running criticisms. The quarrel became more and more bitter; it became scandalous—painfully scandalous, for however much the friends and admirers of Bismarck might, in their utter ignorance of the true state of the case, be disposed to criticise the action of the young Kaiser, as ungrateful to one to whom alone he owed his position, no one could approve of the conduct of the old Chancellor nor hold him blameless.

It was therefore with gratification that, in the autumn of 1893, when Bismarck was severely ill, the public learned that the Kaiser had graciously extended to him an invitation to take up his winter quarters in one of his own castles. The offer was declined, though courteously. The Kaiser, however, soon after, of his own magnanimous impulse, made a second attempt at reconciliation, happily with success. He dispatched one of his personal aides-de-camps, Lieutenant-Colonel von Moltke, a nephew of the great General, to congratulate the Prince on his recovery from an attack of influenza, and to present to him a bottle of fine old Hock. The ex-Chancellor accepted the gift, and said that he would come to Berlin to thank the Emperor in person on the occasion of his Majesty's approaching birthday, which he did. "All Germany was more or less intoxicated with that single flask of rare old Rhenish which the Emperor had sent to Friedrichsruh."

We skip four years now and come to the end. In the early summer of 1898 the public attention was directed toward Friedrichsruh by the intelligence that the veteran ex-Chancellor was in a critical state of health. He was

now in his eighty-fourth year, and though naturally of a strong constitution, he could not be expected to hold out for many years against the grim destroyer. And yet when the announcement went forth from Friedrichsruh that his death had occurred, on the night of the 30th of July, the public were scarcely expecting it, for the bulletins of the few days previous had all been encouraging. He had been, in fact, but a week in bed, and two days before the end came he was able to be wheeled to the family dinner, to celebrate the fifty-first anniversary of his marriage to the devoted wife and Princess who, four years before, had preceded him to the tomb. The event came, therefore, as a shock upon Europe, as well as upon this country. There was probably no one who did not feel that one of the greatest men of the Century had passed away.

LI HUNG CHANG

1822—

CHINA PEEPS OVER HER GREAT WALL

Li Hung Chang, the Chinaman who had gained a wider celebrity than any other native of the Flowery Kingdom, with the exception of Confucius, was born in 1822 at Hofei, in the province of Anhui, where his family had resided, we are told, "for countless generations." Their lot in life had not been remarkable, and the father of Li was not distinguished either for wealth or commanding intellect. He had, however, gone through the regular curriculum of Chinese education and was ranked among the Literati.

Of Li's early life, little has been recorded, beyond the fact that at an early age he had acquired facility in writing with beauty and exactness the complex characters of his country—an accomplishment which in China is a ready title to advancement. While still young he took his bachelor's degree, competed successfully for the higher literary honors, both in the provincial capital and at Pekin, and finally rounded off his education in the Hanlin College—an institution which holds much the same relation to literature in China as does among us the Royal Society to science. Ordinarily a graduate of the Hanlin College receives an appointment in the civil service. But events were happening which called Li out of the ordinary course into a field more active than commonly falls to the lot of a Chinese civilian.

The Southern Provinces of China had for years been

in a perturbed condition through the machinations of a secret political society, known as the Hunghwui, or Triad Society, the purpose of which was to overthrow the Manchu dynasty and to place on the throne a representative of the Chinese people. By the agents of this society seditious opinions were scattered broadcast among the ignorant peasants, and frequent outbreak occurred, in which the Government troops were not always successful. In this condition of things all that was necessary to produce a formidable rebellion was the appearance of a capable leader, and such a one now arose in the person of a student in the Province of Kwangtung, who adopted the name of Hung, to mark his affiliation with the Society. Hung had obtained through the missionaries some rather crude notions of Christianity, and setting up as a prophet, had secured a considerable number of fanatical followers, whom he taught to believe that he had received a divine mission to take up arms against the Manchu rulers of the country.

Such was the origin of the Taiping Rebellion. Having won a number of small successes, which multiplied the number of his followers, Hung marched with an army of 10,000 men through the Province of Hunan, in the beginning of 1853, and captured Nanking, on the Yang-tsze-Kiang.

It was the occasion of this rebellion which first brought Li Hung Chang from the quiet of the literary world into the field of national politics. Having raised a small band of militia, Li harassed the Taipings as they marched northward, and though a brilliant victory was beyond his reach, he succeeded in doing such excellent work, that Tseng Kwofan, the viceroy of the district and generalissimo of the army, enlisted Li and his men among the troops under his immediate command.

Li rose rapidly in the service. In 1859 he was sent to Fuhkien in the capacity of Taotai, or intendant of the circuit. Here he discharged the duties of that important office with the same fidelity and vigor which he had displayed as a soldier in the field. At that time the rebellion seemed to be nearly crushed. Nanking was closely besieged, while other cities in the possession of the rebels were hard pressed by the imperial forces. The war with England and France in 1860, however, changed all this and gave a new impetus to the Taipings by paralyzing the efforts of the imperialists.

Li Hung Chang, who was now serving under his old leader Tseng Kwofan, and who had learned and recognized the superiority of foreigners both in the field and in the workshop, though he still viewed them with a certain contempt as "barbarians" in all things else, advised that a certain number of foreigners should be enlisted to drill and lead a division of the imperial army. A threatened attack of the Taipings upon Shanghai furthered his views by inducing the foreign residents of the town to form an Association for Protection. They raised money, and, at Li's suggestion, engaged an American adventurer, named Ward, to lead a force in defense of the imperial cause. Thus originated the "Ever-Victorious Army" of Mandarin Ward. This American officer with his disciplined band, rendered excellent service against the Taipings; but his career was short. He was mortally wounded while leading an attack upon the town of Tseki. The news of his death occasioned profound regret among the imperialists, and great honors were paid to his memory. He served China well, and he served himself, too, naturally. Though he had held command but two years, Ward left a fortune of £15,000.

In 1862 Li Hung Chang was appointed Governor of

Kiangsu, and took up his residence in Shanghai. With the approval of the Pekin authorities he made an arrangement by which a radius of thirty miles around Shanghai was kept clear of rebels by the English and French forces. After the death of Ward the command of the "Ever-Victorious Army" was conferred upon Henry Burgevine, of the same nationality. Of this man Li very soon became distrustful. It had, indeed, been hinted that Ward carried a regal scepter in his knapsack, which he was prepared to produce at the right moment, and Burgevine, in the opinion of the far-seeing Li, was an even more dangerous character than Ward. An occasion of a falling-out soon arose. Li and Burgevine were both engaged in winning a great victory over the Taipings and both laid claim to the chief merit. Added to this cause of trouble the Association of Shanghai, which paid the "Ever-Victorious," became also dissatisfied with the new commander and closed the purse. Burgevine took redress into his own hands; he marched into Shanghai, invaded the premises of Takee, a Shanghai banker, and the treasurer of the Association, and carried off a very considerable sum of money. This outrage furnished Li with a sufficient reason for demanding Burgevine's resignation, and on his refusal to resign, Li dismissed him and appointed in his place Major Gordon, an English officer.

Gordon's appointment put new life into the "Ever-Victorious," and several successes were quickly obtained. Gordon was made a Tsung Ping, or Brigadier-General, on the recommendation of Li, who had readily recognized the superior caliber of his new colleague. Still, much as he admired Gordon, he hampered him greatly in one way. It had been the practice of the men of the "Ever-Victorious Army" to loot the towns which they conquered. Gordon wished to put a stop to this practice, and asked that

a gratuity be distributed among the troops after the capture of any town of importance. Li Hung Chang preferred the older and looser way. It seemed incredible to him that Gordon should not approve of it. The matter led to frequent differences between the two men, and finally, this, together with the treachery of one of the native commanders, so disgusted Gordon that he determined to resign.

Burgevine meanwhile had been making considerable trouble. He refused to consider himself discharged, and took the matter to the headquarters at Pekin. He gained the support of Sir Frederic Bruce, the British Minister, who strongly recommended Prince Kung to reinstate him. But Prince Kung had already received word from Li as to his reasons for dismissing Burgevine and refused to restore him to the command. Burgevine made several futile attempts to overcome the opposition of Prince Kung, but failed. Burgevine now joined the ranks of the Taipings. When Gordon heard of this, knowing the discontent of the "Ever-Victorious Army" and fearing that the men, who were mostly adventurers, might be tempted to desert to the rebel ranks, he determined to resume his command—conduct which failed to elicit any sign of gratitude from Li, who was mainly engaged in loudly denouncing the American Consul at Shanghai for permitting Burgevine to leave that port. With Gordon's help the Taipings were again vigorously pressed; town after town was taken from them, and finally Soochow, one of their strongest positions, was captured, when their cause became hopeless.

Now occurred an event which illustrates the treacherous nature of the Chinese, and which showed that Li Hung Chang, progressive and enlightened above his fellow-countrymen as he was, had not wholly shaken off

the fetters of Oriental barbarity and cruelty. This was the murder of the Wangs—the leaders of the Taiping rebellion. These unhappy men were beguiled into the presence of Li and Ch'eng, another General of the imperial army, and were congratulated by Li on their joining the imperial ranks, a matter which had but shortly before taken place. They were told of the buttons they were to receive as emblems of their future rank, etc. Then while they were engaged in conversation, they were summarily seized by executioners and beheaded.

Gordon, horrified by this foul murder, and feeling keenly the dishonor it would bring upon him, again decided to resign. Indeed, at first, so great was his anger that he determined to wreak vengeance on the malefactor Li. He set out, armed, to his home. But Li was warned of his approach and escaped with an alacrity that showed that, however little value he put on other men's lives, he thought something of his own. Gordon, unable, to find Li, wrote him an indignant letter and resigned the command.

Li, in his letter to the Throne concerning the matter of the Wangs and the capture of Soochow, presented his side of the story in a most favorable light. Needless to say, his version was accepted by the Emperor, who conferred on him the honorary title of "Guardian of the Heir-Apparent" and presented him with the yellow jacket. Although Li's account was sufficient to satisfy his Prince, Gordon and his supporters were far from being satisfied. They demanded an investigation of the subject. Prince Kung regarded this as a case of "much ado about nothing," and intimated as much. Meantime the affairs of the army were at a standstill. Li became restless. Gordon finally was persuaded to become reconciled with him on the condition that he should issue a proclamation,

explaining his own share in the outrage and exonerating Gordon from all blame.

Military operations were now continued until Changchow was captured and the rebellion was practically at an end. It was fortunate for Li that this was so, for he had to submit to the withdrawal of the Order in Council which had authorized Gordon to hold command under him.

How to disband the soldiers of the "Ever-Victorious Army" was the next question. Li realized that they were all soldiers of fortune, and there was a probability of their joining the ranks of the Taipings, as soon as they were dismissed from the Imperial army, and thus reviving the rebellion. Acting on Gordon's advice, Li gave gratuities, according to the rank and services of the men, and to the foreigners sufficient means to enable them to return to their respective countries, should they so desire. To the Chinese he gave money to return to their homes.

One man did not approve of this disbanding of the troops. This man was Sir Henry Parks. He considered that as the troops of Her Majesty's Government were to be withdrawn from Shanghai, Gordon's troops should have been kept. Li invited Sir Harry to meet him at Soochow and finally was persuaded to establish, at Shanghai, a military camp of instruction, to be commanded by British officers. Gordon was asked to take command. But Li did not wholly approve of the project, and by way of showing his displeasure, thwarted Gordon at every step, until finally the British officer was forced to resign. Sir Harry Parks again attempted to argue with Li; but while the Chinese statesman, as long as the rebels were in the field, was eager to enlist the foreigners in his service, when the Taipings were out of the way he regarded them as a very doubtful good. After his usual manner, he expressed his displeasure in a very disagreeable way,

and the camp had to be abolished. His experience in the Taiping war had shown him, however, the superiority of foreign weapons, and he agreed to the founding of a shell and ammunition factory at Soochow.

The miserable condition in which Li found the Provinces after the war gave him a splendid chance to exercise those executive abilities he possesses in such a marked degree. He appealed to the Throne to remit a three years' tribute to the people, and persuaded the natives to return to the towns and villages. He rebuilt a number of the cities. With the recovery of Nanking the rebellion was finally and definitely crushed.

Li removed to Nanking the arsenal established at Soochow under the superintendence of Dr. Macartney. During the Taiping War a fleet of gun-boats had been purchased. But they had arrived when the war was on the wane, and had not been put to service. Li determined to send the fleet back to England to be sold. With them had been sent a considerable supply of machinery for the establishment of a naval dock-yard. Li was not willing that this should go out of his hands. He determined to erect a dock-yard at Nanking. In his negotiations concerning this matter he showed his usual distrust of foreigners. He is willing to use them for his purpose, but as soon as that is accomplished, throws them over. He will never trust them with power.

During times of peace Li devoted himself to the administration of his Province, Kiangu. A man of less powerful will would have found the constant discontent and disorder a source of danger. Not so Li. He ruled with an iron hand, and the people submitted without a murmur.

In a short time the surviving Taipings appeared as banditti, under the name of Neinfei, on the shores of the

Yangtsze, in the Provinces of Honan and Shantung. Li was appointed Imperial Commissioner to suppress the bandits. He again called to his aid the foreigners and determined to resume the policy pursued in the Taiping War—to hem the Neinfei in against the seaboard and there to destroy them. But the Neinfei escaped in their native junks and marched off to "fresh fields and pastures new." Meanwhile Li had received another promotion. He was appointed Viceroy of Hukwang, to succeed Tseng Kwofan, with orders, however, still to continue his campaign against the Neinfei. Li was not very successful in crushing the bandits, and the indecisiveness of the campaign so exhausted the Imperial patience that in 1868 he was degraded for apathy, and ordered to take up his post as Viceroy of Woochang. Li, however, determined not to be set aside, and submitted to being degraded three steps rather than give up his post as Imperial Commander. He was able in a short time to report a decisive victory. His former rank was then restored to him, and he was given back his yellow jacket, of which he had been temporarily deprived.

Li was not long destined to be Viceroy of Hukwang. While occupying that position his treatment of foreigners was in strict keeping with his previous record. He was willing to make use of them; but he declined to give them any rights or privileges not assigned to them by treaty. This was plainly shown in his attempt to close the front gate of his Yamen to the British Consul, desiring him to gain admittance at the side way, on the plea that the Consul ranked as a Taot 'ai, and that Taot 'ais did not expect to use the front gate. Therefore why should the Consul? The Consul refused, however, to visit him on these terms, and Li was obliged to yield, and to receive his visitor in the way that courtesy called for.

In 1869 Li was made Tsai Hsaing, or Prime Minister, for his services against the Neinfei.

Li still kept his eye on the arsenal at Nanking which, although it was out of his province, was still regarded as his special care. In the same way he was looked upon as the chief power against war and disorder, and when a rebellion broke out in the Southern Provinces of Kweichow and Yunnan, Li received orders to proceed thither at once and quell the rebellion. He was on the point of setting out for this province when orders reached him to proceed to the Province of Shensi, also in revolt. He was appointed vice T'so, and in a short time reduced the province to submission.

Meanwhile had occurred the terrible tragedy at Tientsin—the massacre of the French Priests and Sisters by an excited mob. At this crisis Li was appointed Viceroy of Chihli, which made him Viceroy of the Metropolitan Province, the most important province in the Empire. His appointment met with a marked success. The insurgents recognizing a strong hand were easily brought to order. Eighty people were arrested, of whom about thirty were made to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. The prefect and magistrate of the province were dismissed, and a special commissioner was sent to France to express in the name of the Emperor of China his regret at the unfortunate occurrence.

Li recognized the probability that France might make this an occasion for reparation at the point of the bayonet, and determined to prepare for war. He rearmed the Taku forts with Krupp guns, and added some well constructed and carefully concealed forts between Taku and Tientsin. He strengthened the earth-works at the mouth of the river and took counsel with Dr. Macartney as to the improvements to be made in the arsenal at Tien-

tsin. Li had been made director of this arsenal by the Emperor and had also been appointed director of the three northern forts. By Imperial favor he was nominated an Honorary Imperial Tutor of the second class, Supernumerary Member of the Great Council of the Empire, was decorated with a peacock's feather with Two Eyes, and was made a noble of the first class.

Reports were circulated at this time that Li harbored designs on the throne—a report which was false in every particular. Li has ever been a strong upholder of the Manchu dynasty. For years he has been the leading statesman of China; has managed both her internal and foreign affairs with consummate ability; has taken all he could get from ousiders and given nothing in return. Many a minister or government official has gone to Li with the intention of finding out his secret purposes, only to realize as he leaves that he has accomplished nothing, but has himself been most skilfully "pumped" by his astute host. But the foundation on which the Chinese official builds his political mansion is not very strong, and Li has several times had experience of this fact. In 1871, he was degraded again from office, because of his failure to compete successfully with the disastrous floods of that year; but soon after, having succeeded in the work of building up the banks of the Grand Canal, he was given back his honors with the addition of a "Flowered Peacock Feather."

Li's progressiveness above his fellowmen is shown by his establishment of the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company, the first of the kind ever organized in China. The enterprise encountered many difficulties in spite of the patronage of Li.

Since the time of the Tientsin massacre Li had been haunted by the dread of war. He knew enough of his

country to realize that it was totally unable to cope with foreign Nations. He determined to remedy this state of affairs, and decided to provide the Empire with as efficient an army and navy as possible. With this object in view he drilled a large force of Honan soldiers, whom he kept within his province, and acquired from time to time foreign gunboats for the protection of the coasts. He had watched with anxiety and distrust Japan's growing tendency to adopt foreign customs and systems. He was fearful that she would attempt to draw China into war. But Japan was not yet ready. She desired, on the contrary, to make a treaty with China, and sent a minister to accomplish that object. By the terms of the treaty which resulted, both countries were to aid and support each other in the case of foreign invasion, and ministers were to be sent from one capital to the other. Consuls were appointed to protect the interest of each country at the treaty port of both. Li was chosen to negotiate this treaty as representative of his imperial master.

In the year 1874, occurred a difficulty with Japan over Formosa. Li strongly desired war, for he believed that China was now in a better position to fight than Japan; and he saw, too, that the Japanese were moving faster than the Chinese toward improved methods of warfare, and that the time might come when his countrymen would not be able to cope with them. But the peace party at Pekin was in the ascendant and the matter was settled amicably. China paid an indemnity to Japan.

Toward the end of the year the Emperor was taken ill with smallpox, and in the beginning of 1875 he died of that disease. The dowager Empress nominated as his successor the infant son of Prince Ch'un, a brother of the deceased Emperor.

Li was at this time in high favor with the Throne.

But the new reign began badly with respect to foreign affairs. At its very beginning occurred the murder of Mr. Margary, of the China Consular Service, at Yunnan. As soon as the news of this outrage reached Pekin, Sir Thomas Wade sought satisfaction at the Tsungli Yamen, demanding that a committee should be appointed to investigate the outrage. For months he was put off on the plea that no official report had been received of the murder, but finally Li Hung Chang entered into negotiations with him. Li showed a disposition to be conciliatory, but refused to draw Li Hsieh-t 'ai, the Viceroy of Yunnan, into the discussion. He had, like all Chinamen, a tender regard for officials of high rank. At last he consented to an investigation at Yunnan, which ended so unsatisfactorily that Sir Thomas Wade left Shanghai rather than be trifled with longer. The Chinese were thoroughly frightened at this turn of the affair, and Li finally met Sir Thomas at Chefoo. There the matter was settled by Li's agreeing to improved official intercourse and additional trading regulations between the two Nations. A convention, known as the Chefoo Convention, setting forth these terms, was drawn up and signed by both Li and Sir Thomas Wade. This document caused great discussion among the British merchants in both England and China. It was disapproved of by the Foreign Office, and did not receive official sanction until 1888.

Still further honors were given to Li for his success at Chefoo. Foreign matters having been disposed of, Li was now at leisure to devote more time to internal affairs. He still continued to improve his army and navy. Armed his soldiers with the newest weapons, urged the completion of the forts between Taku and Tientsin and established a torpedo college at the latter place, in order to

defend it by water. The expense and trouble devoted to the college deserved better results than were shown during the late war. Li also turned his attention to the development of the commercial resources of his country. He formed a company to work the coal mines in the Metropolitan Province. This led to the first railway established in China. If Li had been all powerful he would have applied the same manner of working as that adopted at the coal mines in Chili to mines throughout the Empire. But the provincial system of government rendered this impossible. He, therefore, turned his attention to other schemes. A word has already been said of the China Merchant's Steam Navigation Company. Li Hung Chang hoped this might compete successfully with the foreign worked companies along the coast, and did all he could to further its success. But do what he might, that company never arrived at a very flourishing condition.

About this time, 1877, occurred a terrible famine, which lasted for over one year. Li did all he could to mitigate the sufferings of the people. He sent to foreign countries for rice, and urged that all distilling be stopped until the terrible scarcity of that grain was over. He opened soup kitchens at Tientsin, and is said to have fed a thousand refugees daily from his own purse. But do what he could, millions perished of want in the various provinces.

In 1878 events occurred which made it seem that China would be able to make use of all her warlike preparations. This was a difficulty with Russia over the occupancy of Kuldja. Russia had held Kuldja for ten years, in trust, we might say, for China, and now was adverse to giving the place up. Chung How, Superintendent of the Northern Ports, was ordered to proceed

to St. Petersburg to negotiate with the Russians. But the treaty he arranged was not acceptable to Li Hung Chang. During this time there had grown up at Pekin a strong war party under Prince Ch'un and Tso Tsung-tang. Li was, however, strongly averse to going to this extreme with Russia, declaring the country was in no condition for war. Fortunately he was upheld in his position by Colonel Gordon, of whom so much has been said as leader of the "Ever Victorious Army," who spoke very openly of the military weakness of the Nation. Finally, after many attacks from his enemies, Li's peace policy was carried out, with the able assistance of the Marquise Tseng, at St. Petersburg. The dispute was satisfactorily adjusted.

Again Li could turn his attention to his duties of provincial administration, but not for long. His active interest in provincial affairs was stopped by the death of his mother in 1882. Li mourned for her sincerely, and applied to the Throne for the usual time of mourning—two years and a quarter. But he was too important a man to be allowed to retire from public life for that length of time, and his request was refused. He was allowed only 100 days in which to express his grief.

While Li was yet in mourning for his mother occurred an event of great political importance. He had for some time urged the King of Korea to enter into a treaty with foreign States for the protection of his Kingdom. The Anti-foreign party, at the head of which was the ex-Regent, opposed this policy, and in 1882 attacked the Japanese Legation established at Seoul. This brought on a collision between China and Japan. Both Nations sent a force to Seoul. But Li realized more than ever the inability of China to cope with Japan, whose military conditions were so much better than hers; and happily

his efforts for peace were successful and the matter was amicably settled.

Foreign troubles seemed to follow thick and fast upon Li and the Chinese Empire. Since 1873 the French had been making hostile advances against the Province of Tongking. All proposals of China to cede to France the country south of the Songkoi River had been rejected at Paris and Pekin. In 1884 the attitude of the French was still threatening. They even attacked and held two cities, Sontay and Bacninh. Li, as usual, desired to preserve peace. He was prepared, therefore, to discuss matters at once with Captain Fournier as soon as he should receive plenipotentiary powers from Pekin. His memorials to the Throne on the subject were at first coldly received. At a council at which Prince Ch'un, the father of the Emperor, and twenty-seven other officials took part, it was unanimously decided to reject Li's request. Fortunately, wiser counsel prevailed, and Li was authorized to take the best terms he could get from the French. Accordingly, on the 11th of May, 1884, Fournier and Li drew up a convention and signed it. The terms of the convention no sooner became known than Li was violently denounced by the Censors. So harshly was he reproached that he offered to resign his official duties. This proposition the Throne declined to listen to. Trouble again broke out and war was declared with France, which lasted until 1886, when a treaty was concluded between Li Hung Chang and M. Cogordan, a special envoy from France. Li's prescience was confirmed by the terms of this treaty. After a year's conflict, which had cost the country 60,000,000 taels, and the sinking of a fleet at Foo-chow, China accepted eventually the same terms which Li had obtained before the money had been spent or the fleet sunk.

More trouble with Japan now occurred. Again the subject of the dispute was Korea. Count Ito was sent to China to negotiate a treaty with Li Hung Chang, which should determine the position of the two countries in that Kingdom. The matter was settled amicably, a treaty was drawn up and signed by the two Ministers.

Another instance of Li's diplomatic shrewdness is his arrangement made with the British concerning the island known as Port Hamilton, over which the British had raised their flag. For while he obtained the promise of Great Britain to remove her flag from that island, he also received assurance from Russia that should the British control of Port Hamilton cease, she would not interfere with Korea, thus killing as it were, two birds with one stone.

Li's choice of foreign employés, with a few exceptions, seems always to have been a good one. As a rule they have served him well and faithfully.

His selection of native officials has not always turned out so well. One of his most intimate associates was thrown into prison on the charge of fraud; another, who was at one time exiled beyond the Great Wall, is his son-in-law. He, however, has since proved himself unquestionably a very able man. Honesty does not seem necessary to obtain Li's favor, and one of his prime favorites, it is said, a certain Shen, during the late war with Japan gained great notoriety by selling poor muskets and ammunition to the soldiers who were sent to the fore. The constant breaches in the Grand Canal are but instances of the lax way in which Li was served by his workmen. It is but another evidence of his greatness that he has accomplished so much for China with such poor aid.

It had long been evident to those who had watched the affairs in the Korea, that matters must soon be

brought to a crisis. Both China and Japan feared the intervention of Russia. Japan wished to effect such reforms in Korea as would give strength and efficiency to that Kingdom. She proposed to China that they work these reforms together. Li was anxious to maintain peace, but he entirely misunderstood Japan's attitude and refused to coöperate with her, replying that China as the Suzerain State should effect all reforms in Korea. He demanded that all Japanese ships should leave the Chinese ports. Japan complied with the ultimatum, but warned China that any advance of the military of that country would be regarded by her as an act of war. China, paying no heed to this warning, sent a British ship loaded with troops and escorted by three men-of-war to Korea. They were met by the Japanese cruisers, Akitsusu, Yoshino, and Naniwa, and a battle was fought. The result is well known—the sinking of the transport and the flight of the Chinese ships. Following this came the defeat of the Chinese at Asan and Pingyang. At first the news of these disasters was kept from the Imperial Throne. But at last the truth came out. Li, who had been held responsible for the campaign, was degraded in rank, and his yellow jacket was taken from him. Li saw, though not too late, the mistake he had made, and strongly advocated peace. The Throne was not to be convinced of its necessity, and the war continued. But the crushing disasters which followed brought the true situation only too clearly to the Imperial eye. In response to Li's urgent representations, he was authorized to send Mr. Deking, a Commissioner of Customs, to Japan to arrange affairs with that country. The Mikado's Government refused to accept Mr. Deking as an Envoy. Finally Li Hung Chang, although the loss of his honors had been accompanied

by a withdrawal from his control of the military affairs of his country, was appointed Imperial Commissioner to negotiate with Japan. His ability to cope with the situation had been recognized by the Throne, and his honors had been restored to him.

Li, though an old man and worn out with the affairs of the State, yet consented, at the request of the Throne, to visit for the first time in his life a foreign country and to undertake a humiliating mission. He set our for Japan with Oriental magnificence, accompanied by a retinue of 135 persons, and arrived safely in that country. The negotiations were proceeding favorably, when an incident occurred which seemed for a moment likely to bring them to a sudden termination. This was an attempt on Li's life by a fanatical member of the Soshi class, who, as the Chinese Commissioner was being carried through the streets of Shimonoseki in his sedan chair, rushed up to him and fired a pistol point-blank in his face. Fortunately, though Li was hit, the bullet did not penetrate very deeply, lodging under his left eye, and, barring the shock to his system, the effect of the wound was not serious. By none was this act more strongly condemned than by the Mikado and his Ministers. Count Ito called in person to express his profound sorrow for the occurrence, and the Mikado hastened to put at his service his own surgeon.

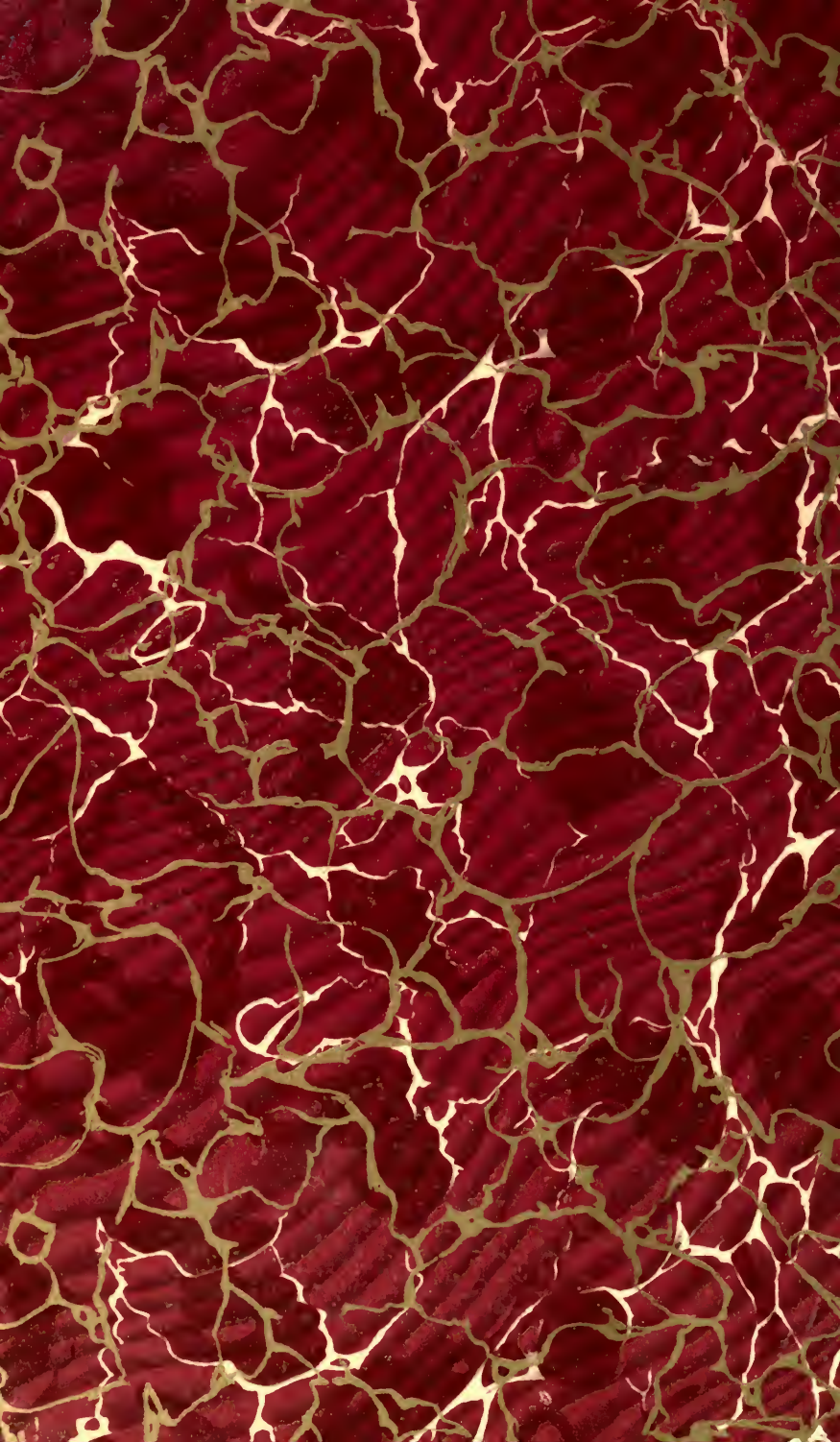
The principal terms of the treaty now agreed upon, and which was duly ratified by both China and Japan, were that within four months both powers should withdraw their troops stationed in Korea, and that they should unite in an invitation to the King of Korea to instruct and drill an armed force sufficient to assure her public security, employing for this purpose an officer selected from those of a third power. Neither China nor

Japan should send any of her own officers for the purpose of giving this instruction.

In 1896 Li Hung Chang was sent to St. Petersburg as the Emperor's representative at the coronation of the Czar. On his way home he passed through the United States, where he was received with every demonstration, official and popular, due both to his eminent services to China and his high rank among the world's great men.

The Boxer trouble of 1900-1901 and the resulting intervention of the Powers afforded the old statesman his last opportunity to exhibit his fidelity to the Manchu government he had served so long. It was chiefly due to his efforts that the allies did not impose severer penalties on China and that the Dowager Empress and her advisers acceded to the demands which secured the evacuation of Peking by victorious Europeans, September 17, 1901. A few weeks later (November 7) he died in harness, so to speak, resisting to the utmost Russia's encroachments in Manchuria.

Li Hung Chang has been the subject of much discussion and criticism by those who have not always taken sufficient account of his nationality and of the peculiar circumstances both of his education and the conditions with which he had to deal. It is manifestly unjust to charge him with a lack of some of those virtues which in the advanced civilization of Europe have been fostered by centuries of culture. Take him for all in all, he is undoubtedly a man worthy of the highest admiration—one of the most able of the world's great statesmen.



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